



T H E
LONDON MAGAZINE.

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PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the *last Session* of
PARLIAMENT; continued from Page 302.

*Remainder of the DEBATE on the Druggists
Petition.*



—y P---/b---m, Esq;
Sir, I cannot say with the
Gentleman who spoke
last, that I have been in
daily Expectation of the
Petition now presented to
us; on the contrary, I
was in Hopes, that, as

the Sense of this House had been taken upon
it last Session, the Petitioners would have
chosen a more proper Time for renewing their
Request; for not to say that we are upon the
Brink of a War, nor to flatter Gentlemen
with any certain Hopes of Peace, our Situa-
tion is such, that to do any Thing which
might lessen the publick Revenue, would be
acting otherwise than this House ought to do;
and considering the Situation of the Affairs of
Europe, and how nearly this Nation may be
affected by the Event of the present War,
the presenting of such a Petition at such a
critical Juncture, seems to me to be done
with no other View but that of reviving those
Clamours, which were lately so artfully stirred
up over the whole Kingdom.

It is impossible, Sir, to talk either for or
against committing a Petition, without enter-
ing some way into the Merits of it: In this,
if there is any Irregularity, the Gentlemen
who have spoke for referring the Petition to a
Committee, have been as guilty as those who
have spoke against it; but in my Opinion,
there is nothing more proper to be consider'd
in the present Debate, than whether or no
there can possibly be any Thing proposed in
that Committee, for redressing the Grievances

complained of; for if no present Redress can
be thought of, if there can be nothing pro-
posed, it would not be very consistent with
the Dignity of this House, to go into a Com-
mittee, only to stare at one another, and then
break up without hearing any Thing proposed,
or coming to any one Resolution; and as yet
I have heard nothing so much as hinted at,
for us to do in that Committee, but what
might very probably diminish the Revenue,
which is a Risk we ought not to run at pre-
sent.

I am sensible, Sir, of the great Enormities
committed by the Smugglers, especially in
the Counties in the Neighbourhood of this
City: The open and the outrageous Manner
in which they carry on their Frauds is well
known; but that Method of Smuggling is
much more expensive, difficult and dangerous
than the private Way they had, before the
Laws of Excise were joined to those of the
Customs; and it is well known, how many
Seizures have lately been made, and how
many of those Smugglers have been quite ru-
ined; this must necessarily discourage any new
Undertakers, and will put an End to the
Practice at last; for the Misfortunes of others
will at last convince most People, that there
is nothing to be got by the Trade; and as soon
as that Opinion comes to be general, no Man
will dare to engage in it.

I shall not at present pretend to determine,
what Encrease has been made to the Revenue,
by subjecting Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate, to
the Laws of Excise; but it is certain, that
Branch of the Revenue has been since that
Time encreased, and I cannot think but there
was more Smuggling before than since that
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Alteration; there were not, indeed, so many Seizures made before that Time, nor was Smuggling formerly carried on in so open or so violent a Manner, so that it has since made a great deal more Noise, and thence most People conclude falsely, I believe, that Smuggling has lately increased.

Most of the Things now under the Laws of Excise, are not indeed so much follow'd after as Tea; which makes a Difference as to the Number of Persons thereby subjected to those Laws; but as to those who, by their being Manufacturers of such other Commodities, are subjected to such Laws, they certainly feel as many Inconveniencies, and have as much Reason to complain, as the Dealers in Coffee and Tea can have, and therefore they have as good Reason to apply to Parliament for Relief: Have not the Malsters, the Brewers, the Soap-Boilers, and a great many others, as good a Title to all the Liberties of *Englishmen*, as the Dealers in Coffee and Tea, or as any other Subjects? and the Reason for distinguishing both from the rest of their Countrymen is, because the publick Utility, and the Nature of their Business make it necessary: If we then take the Case of the Petitioners into our Consideration, can we expect, that all those other Sorts of Traders will not apply to us for Relief? and will it be consistent with the Justice of Parliament, not to take their Cases under our Consideration, as well as the Case of the Petitioners? Thus, Sir, shall we open a Door for a great deal more Business, than, I believe, we shall have Time to dispatch in this Session, or in this Parliament.

In the present Case, Sir, Gentlemen ought to consider, that the Duties on Coffee and Tea are appropriated Duties; that Part of the Revenue, or at least a great Part of it, is appropriated to the Payment of our publick Debts; and therefore, before we attempt any Alteration, as to the Method of collecting it, or any Thing that may diminish it, we ought to have the Consent of those who are interested therein, and in Case of a Diminution, we ought to be well assured of Means to make it up another Way. I have always had, and always shall have, as great a Regard to the Subject, as any Member of this House, and I do not doubt, but the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last has the same; but I never could think, that the taking Care of the Subject, and taking Care of the publick Revenue, were distinct Considerations; they are certainly the same, and in all our Deliberations we ought to have a Regard to both. I agree, that something may, and ought to be done, for putting an immediate Stop to the present Practice of Smuggling, but I think it more consistent with the Wisdom of Parliament, not to enter on so copious a Field, at the very Close of a Parliament; and

therefore, as one that wishes well to the Subject, as a Member of this House, and as an honest Man, I shall now give my Vote for ordering the Petition to lie upon the Table.

W——m P——ney, Esq; Sir, I find all the Gentlemen who have opposed the Motion now in your Hand, pretend to be of Opinion, that this is not a proper Time for going into the Committee proposed. This was, I remember, the chief Argument made Use of last Session against taking this Petition into our Consideration: Then, indeed, they had another Objection; they pretended, the Petition then presented, was signed but by a few of the Dealers in that Commodity; but this Objection being now removed by the Gentleman who presented the Petition, they are obliged to have Recourse to the other Objection then made Use of. In last Session, they told us, this Session is near an End, we have not Time now to enter into the Consideration of the Matters complained of, but next Session it shall be done; Now we are in the next Session, and in the Beginning of it too, they cannot tell us the Session is near an End, but they say, it will be but a short Session, and as it is now so near the Close of a Parliament, we cannot now enter into the Consideration of this Affair, but it shall be done next Parliament: What arrant Trifling is this, Sir? Can Gentlemen expect that this House will be treated in such a Manner? Who is the Gentleman can promise, that this will be done, or what may be done next Parliament? Can he who fancies himself the greatest Man amongst us be sure of having a Seat in next Parliament? Or, if he has, can he be sure that his Power and Sway will be the same? But why, Sir, should this be but a short Session? There is no Necessity, that I know of, for putting an End to it so soon: If there is, why did they not call us sooner? Those in the Administration have the sole advising of his Majesty, and it lies wholly in his Breast when to call us together, as well as when to put an End to the Session: Shall our Trade then lie exposed to Fraud and Smuggling; shall our Fellow-Subjects continue to groan under Loads of Oppression, only because they are resolved, that this Session shall be but a short one?

The Hon. Gentleman who spoke last seemed to think, that this Petition was presented with a View only, as he said, to revive the Clamours that were last Year without Doors: This I am surprized at; Shall our oppressed Countrymen be accused of having a Design to raise Disturbances, when they complain to Parliament of their Grievances? Shall those who sue to us in the most humble Manner, be deemed seditious? No, Sir, they cannot be so much as suspected of any such Design;

Design; but if the present Motion be rejected, if the humble Request of the Petitioners be deny'd, it will, and it ought to revive those Clamours, which were last Year most justly raised over the whole Kingdom, by a most wicked Scheme propos'd in this House; the Nation will from thence most justly conclude, that the Scheme then set on Foot, is not yet laid aside; they will have Reason to fear that an Hon. Gentleman may perhaps be able to persuade Gentlemen at the Beginning of a Seven Years Parliament, to agree to that wicked Scheme, which he could not persuade them to agree to, immediately before a new Election: If our Fellow-Subjects were entirely relieved from the Oppression of Excise Laws, it might not perhaps be so easy to saddle us with them again; but the Gentleman is resolved to preserve this as a Nest-Egg, as a Foundation to build on, whensoever he has a Mind to take up again his favourite Scheme.

Gentlemen seem to be in a Fright, as if the publick Revenue were to be diminished or taken away, but their Fears are groundless; there never was, I believe, any such Thing intended: All that is desired by the Motion is, that we would go into a Committee, and take the Affair once seriously into our Consideration, in order to see, if any Thing can be done more effectually to secure the Revenue than it is at present, and at the same Time to grant some Relief to those who petition for it, and have a Right to expect it from Parliament: This, Sir, will be an Honour to this Parliament, it will give us a Title to return to our Constituents with some Confidence; and I can see no Reason why we should leave to any future Parliament the Honour of doing a Work which will be of such signal Service to their Country.

The Grievance now complained of was, without Doubt, the Foundation of that wicked Scheme which we had last Year before us, and I am convinced, that no Gentleman who had the Honour of opposing that Scheme, will agree to the rejecting of the present Motion, otherwise the House must be much changed from what it was at the Time when an Hon. Gentleman, on seeing the Minority daily increase, and the Majority languish and sicken away, was, at last, forced, almost with Tears in his Eyes, to give up his favourite Child, of whom he seemed to have a most extraordinary Opinion when he said, that Gentlemen who envied him other Things, would some Day or other envy him the Honour of that Project; and I am persuaded, he still entertains the same good Opinion of it, and waits only for a proper Opportunity to renew it, for which Reason he is unwilling we should go into such a Committee as is now propos'd, lest in that Committee we should sap all the Foundations on which any future Projects for a further Extension of

the Excise Laws may be erected.

Mr. C———r of the E———r. Sir, if I were to follow the Gentleman who spoke last in all he has said, I must entirely neglect the Question before us; but of late it has become so fashionable for Gentlemen to run away from the Question, and say every Thing their Fancies suggest, that it is impossible to give any Answer to what they say, and at the same Time to keep to the Order of Debate. I cannot comprehend, Sir, how I come to be any way personally concerned in the present Question, and yet most of what the Gentleman said seemed to be directed at me, which indeed is a Subject I always speak to with the greatest Unwillingness, and which I am sure is very little worthy the Attention of this House, nor ought their Time to be taken up with any Thing relating to it.

As to those Clamours which were lately, or have at any other Time been raised without Doors, I know very well, Sir, that great Art has been used to raise Clamours against me in all Parts of the Kingdom; but it is my Happiness, that, after ten Years Endeavours for that Purpose, no Objection could ever yet be made to my Conduct, except what proceeded from something I had said, or something I had propos'd or mov'd for in this House; and I am not conscious to myself, that I ever propos'd any Thing but what I thought consistent with my Duty, as a Member of this House, as a good Subject, and as a Servant to the Crown; and in such Case, Gentlemen may talk of the Privileges of Parliament, and of the Freedom of Debate, but if what a Man says is to be misrepresented, and Clamours raised against him without Doors, for what he honestly and fairly proposes, or gives as his Opinion here, I leave to the House to judge, what their Privileges may in Time come to.

And, Sir, as to the wicked Scheme, as the Gentleman was pleas'd to call it, I, for my own Part, can assure this House, that I am not so mad as ever again to engage in any Thing that looks like an Excise, tho' in my own private Opinion I still think, it was a Scheme that would have tended very much to the Interest of the Nation in general; and I am convinced, that all the Clamours against it were founded on artful Falshood and Misrepresentation, and upon Suggestions that such Things were intended as had never enter'd into the Thoughts of any Man I am acquainted with.

I will now try, Sir, if I may be excus'd, to speak a few Words to the present Question, but must first take Notice, that I do not remember any Promise made last Session, that the Petition then presented, and now again before us, should be taken into Consideration in this Session; nor do I know any Person that could make such a Promise, or that can

now say, it shall be considered of next Session; if the Gentleman means me, I am sure I never made any such Promise; but I believe any Gentleman may say, that the next Parliament may, if they please, take the Affair into their Consideration, and I think it is an Affair of such Consequence, that it will be more proper to enter upon it in the Beginning of a new Parliament, than at the very Close of an old one.

It has been pretended, that the Alteration as to the Method of collecting the Duties on Tea, has not prevented the Running of it, nor increased the Revenue, in Proportion to the Increase of the Consumption; and to prove this, Gentlemen have made Computations, but, as has been before observed, (see p. 299 E.) they took a very unfair Method in making them. As to the Running of Tea, the Alteration made has not indeed entirely prevented it, but it has made Running a great deal more expensive and dangerous, and therefore one may, I think, with a great deal of Probability conclude, that no such large Quantities of Tea have been run since that Alteration, as there were before; or at least it may be said, that as all Sorts of Teas are now sold much cheaper abroad than formerly, and as our Smugglers are become more cunning, and more bold and desperate, a great deal more of that Commodity would have been run in upon us, if that Alteration had not been seasonably made.

Now, Sir, as to the Increase of the Revenue, if Gentlemen will but take that Branch of it at a Medium for 7 Years before, and 7 Years after the Alteration, I believe it will be found to have been a growing Revenue from that Time till the Year 1729, when indeed it began to decrease; but that was not owing to the new Arts of the Smugglers, but to the Increase of their Profits by Smuggling; for in that Year the *Dutch* had 4 Ships at *China*, and the *French* 4 more, by which they imported so great Quantities of Tea, and were obliged to sell it so cheap, that they not only supplied those Places we used to supply, but great Quantities of it were run in upon us, because the Increase of the Difference between the Price abroad and the Price here, considerably increased the Profits to be got by Running, which made the old Smugglers run greater Risks, and engaged a great many new Adventurers in that pernicious Trade; and this, Sir, is the true Cause why that Branch of our Revenue began then to decrease; but if the former Method of collecting that Duty had been then in Use, it would have decreased much more; nay, I do not know but it might have almost entirely vanished.

There is, Sir, another Mistake which Gentlemen have fallen into; they have, as to the Produce of this Branch of the Revenue for last Year, forgot to make any Allowances

for the large Quantities now in the Warehouses of the *East-India* Company, which must all pay Duty before it can be removed, in order to be sold for home Consumption; so that to pick out any one Year for determining the Amount of that Part of the Revenue, is a very fallacious Way, because it intirely depends on the Sales the *East-India* Company are pleased to make, and not on the Quantity consumed within the Kingdom for that Year; and yet Gentlemen have been so candid, as to pick out this last Year, when the Produce was less than in any one Year since the Alteration was made, in order to compare it with the Year immediately preceding the Alteration, when the Produce was higher than ever before, and for this plain Reason, because, when that Alteration began to be talked of, every Body imagined it would inhanche the Price of Tea, and therefore most private Families laid in great Stocks of Tea, before the Alteration took Place.

When Gentlemen talk, Sir, of going into Committees to consider of lowering, or taking the Duties off of any Commodity, they do not surely reflect, that it would be entering into a very large Field, into an Affair which would require the most serious and mature Consideration; many other Duties ought to be lowered or taken off, if it were possible; and if we were to go into such a Committee, I do not know but it might be thought more reasonable by many, to take off the Duty on Soap and Candles, than to take off, or even lower the Duty on Coffee and Tea: but these are Considerations I cannot think proper to be entered upon in the very last Session of a Parliament, and therefore I must be against the present Motion, whatever Use may be made of putting a Negative upon it: The rejecting of it may perhaps be made use of by some Gentlemen to raise new Clamours, and to increase the Number of Cockades, with the fine Motto of *Liberty, Property, and no Excise*; but whatever Hopes may be conceived from such low Artifices, I entertain no Fears about them, nor shall they ever deter me from declaring my Sentiments freely upon any Subject that comes before this House.

Mr. S ——— then stood up, and spoke to Order; that it was none of his Business to appear of either Side of the Question; but it was his Duty to acquaint Gentlemen when they were any Way disorderly; and that there was nothing more irregular, than for Gentlemen to be personal in their Debates, or to mention any Thing that had been said by any Gentleman in a former Session, or even on the Day immediately preceding. Then

W ——— P ———, Esq; stood up again, and said, That it was certain, there was nothing more irregular, than for Gentlemen to be personal in their Debates, or to mention any Thing that had been said by any particular

lar Gentleman in a former Debate; but if he was meant, he could not think he had been guilty of any of these Irregularities: He had said nothing but what related some Way to the Question, or in Answer to what had been said by some Gentlemen who spoke before him. That he had been no Way personal, nor had he pretended to mention what had been said in the former Session by any particular Gentleman. But, Sir, (says he) now I am up, I'll just mention one Thing, with the Indulgence of the House, which the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last seems to mistake; he seemed to me to talk as if Gentlemen meant to take off the Duty on Tea: No Body, I believe, Sir, has spoke of taking it off; but if the Duty be too high, or laid on in a wrong Manner, if we go into a Committee, I doubt not but that something may be proposed for securing the Duty to the Publick in a more effectual Manner than it is at present, and for levying it in a Way more agreeable to the Subject. We may remember, Sir, what was the Case of the Duty on Pepper; that Duty was found to be too high; it was lowered, and even by that, the Revenue came to be a considerable Gainer. This may be found to be the Case, with Respect to Tea, but this we cannot judge of till we go into a Committee upon it, and have all proper Papers and Accounts before us.

Sir *J--n B--n--d*. Sir, the Hon. Gentleman over the Way has taken up a great deal of your Time in endeavouring to prove by Argument the contrary of what is known to be true in Fact. He granted, indeed, that the subjecting of Tea to the Laws of Excise has not entirely prevented the Running of it; but then he said, that if it had not been subjected to those Laws, much greater Quantities would have been run in upon us, because of the great Difference there has lately been in the Price of Tea abroad, and the Price of it in this Kingdom: Now, Sir, this is a Fact I cannot so easily admit; I cannot believe there is now, or has lately been, so great a Difference between the Price of Tea in foreign Parts, and the Price it is sold for at our *East-India* Sales; for our *East-India* Company must, and ought to regulate their Price, according to the Price it bears in foreign Markets: They buy it as cheap in *China* as any other Company can do, and it costs them no more to bring it home, therefore they may, and ought to sell as cheap as any other Company does, otherwise they cannot sell any of their Tea in a foreign Market; and it is to be hoped, they do not make Use of their exclusive Privilege, to lay a Tax upon this Nation, by making us pay dearer for their Tea, than we can purchase it from others: This indeed would encourage Smuggling, but this would be owing entirely to their making a bad Use of their exclusive Charter, by grasping at a greater Profit than

they ought to expect: For this Reason it is to be presumed, that in 1729, when the Price of Tea fell so much abroad, it fell a great deal likewise at our *East-India* Sales, and therefore that Difference, which the Gentleman built so much on, cannot be the real Cause of the Decrease of that Branch of our Revenue since that Time; but this is a Fact which we ought to enquire into, and this, Sir, is a strong Reason for our going into the Committee I have proposed.

'Tis true, Sir, the Laws of Excise do not in their own Nature contribute any Thing to the Encouragement of Running, but I am convinced, they have contributed nothing to the preventing of it; and if that be the Case, we ought not to leave such a Number of our Fellow-Subjects, even for one Year, under the Burden of such oppressive Laws; otherwise it cannot be said, we have that Regard to the Ease and Happiness of the People, which a *British* Parliament ought to have, and I hope always will have.

The Gentleman found Fault with the Computations, but let him make his Computations what Way he will, I believe, it will be found, that the Increase of the Revenue has bore no Proportion to the Increase of the Consumption; and this last Increase is a good Reason, why the Rule the Gentleman proposes for discovering, whether the Revenue has been a Gainer by subjecting Tea and Coffee to the Laws of Excise, ought not to be observed; for if the Consumption gradually encreased for 7 Years before and 7 Years after the Alteration as to the Method of collecting the Duty, the Medium for the 7 Years after must be much higher than the Medium for the 7 Years before, and yet the Increase of the Revenue cannot be said to be owing to the Laws of Excise, but to the Increase of the Consumption.

As to the great Quantities of Tea now in the Warehouses of the *East-India* Company, and the large Quantities which, it is pretended, were bought up just before the Alteration took Place, it is certain the Company generally have large Quantities in their Warehouses, and sell them off according to the Demand, which, as to our Home Consumption, must be pretty near equal one Year with another; so that if they have greater Quantities now than usual, it must be because of the little Demand for their Tea at foreign Markets; when there comes any such Demand, they will, I suppose, sell off what Tea they have on their Hands; but whatever is sold for that Purpose, pays no Duty, and therefore it cannot be said, that the Quantities they have upon their Hands must all pay the Duty, or that a Variation in their Sales can ever much alter the Amount of that Branch of the Revenue: And whether large Quantities of Tea were bought up just before the Alteration took Place, is what I shall not now

now pretend to determine; but if we go into a Committee, the Accounts of their Sales, and of Tea exported in that Year may be called for, and from them it will appear, whether large Quantities were then bought up by private Families; so that every Fact the Hon. Gentleman has mention'd is a strong Argument for our going into a Committee on this Affair.

I find no Fault with the Duty on Tea being so high, on the contrary, I wish it were higher, if it were possible to collect it, because I look on it as an Article of Luxury, and therefore, if the Duty on some Sorts of Tea were raised, and if all the Tea that shall hereafter be seized, were to be burnt and destroyed, I believe it would be much better for the Nation; and this, Sir, is an Answer to what an Hon. Gentleman said some Time ago, that we ought not to go into a Committee, unless we are well assured, that some Gentleman has something to propose; for tho' I do not allow his Rule to be good, because when a Committee is resolved on, and proper Papers and Accounts are called for, Gentlemen may from them find something very reasonable to propose to the Committee, which they could not before think of; yet in the present Case, this Argument is of no Weight, for besides what I have already mentioned, I could hint at several other Propositions which may perhaps be thought reasonable: We are certainly in a wrong Method at present, with Respect to our Duties on Tea: There is a very great Difference in the Prices of different Sorts of Tea, and yet our Duty is upon all Sorts the same; Tea of 2 s. per Pound pays as much Duty as Tea of 20 s. and therefore, in my Opinion, if the Duty were laid on *ad Valorem*, neither the Revenue, nor the *East-India* Company would suffer so much by the large Quantities of low-priced Tea, run in upon us from *Holland* and *Flanders*.

In Cases where the Duty far exceeds the prime Cost of the Commodity, there is certainly a very great Temptation for Smuggling: A Man has more Profit when he gets two Cents per Cent. on the Money he lays out, than when he gets but one, or perhaps but 50 per Cent. and this will encourage him to run a greater Risk, and will engage more Persons to become Adventurers: Upon this Consideration it must be granted, that the Lowness of the Price of some Sorts of Tea abroad may of late have contributed a little to the Increase of Smuggling; but no Laws, no Severity can, in such Case, prevent the Practice; for where there is an excessive Advantage to be got by a Man's being lucky, no Risk can prevent his endeavouring to grasp at it, nor will the Misfortunes of some frighten others from becoming Adventurers: This is the Nature of Mankind, and therefore it is vain to imagine, that the join-

ing of the Laws of Excise to those of the Customs will prevent the Practice of running Tea, as long as the Advantage to be got by Running continues so extraordinary.

Tho' every Man who is subject to the Laws of Excise is as liable to Hardships as another, yet there is a great Difference between the Excise upon Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate, and that upon any other Commodity. By all our other Excises, except Brandy, but a few People, none but the first Manufacturers, are made subject to the Laws of Excise, and by most of them, there is a very great Addition made to the Revenue; but as to the Excise on Tea, Coffee and Chocolate, there is little or no Advantage got to the Publick by that Method of collecting that Duty, and yet by that Excise more People are, I believe, made subject to those oppressive Laws than by all the other Excises put together: And, surely, when we are to subject any of our Fellow-Subjects to Hardships, we ought to consider the Number that are to be subjected, and the Benefit the Publick reaps thereby, in order to compare the two together, and from thence judge, whether the Advantage got by the Publick bears such a Proportion as may justify the laying such a Number of our Countrymen under great Inconveniences: This, Sir, shews, that the giving Ear to the just Complaints of the Petitioners, lays us under no Necessity of taking the Case of any other Set of Men under our Consideration.

As to the Consent of those who may have an Interest in the Duty on Coffee, Tea and Chocolate, I believe we need give ourselves no Trouble on that Head; for as they are certain, that the Parliament will not allow them to be Sufferers, they will, as soon as asked, readily, I believe, consent to any Alteration we shall make, especially when it is for freeing such a Number of their Fellow-countrymen from great Hardships; but it will be Time enough to think of this after we have resolved to go into a Committee, and therefore that Argument can be of no Weight against the Question.

J—n C——n, Esq; In our present Situation, Sir, I would be far from agreeing to any Thing that could possibly tend to diminish the Revenue, but I am certain, it can be in no Danger by our agreeing to the present Motion; for when we are in the Committee proposed, if any such Thing should be offered, Gentlemen may freely give their Negative to it, notwithstanding their having given their Consent for going into that Committee. I must say, that, in my Opinion, I have not heard much Argument made use of by the Gentlemen who have opposed this Motion: The Whole of what they have said resolves, I think, in this, that the Time is improper, because the Session is to be but short; so that the true Question now before us is, Shall we allow

so many of our Fellow-Subjects to labour under what they apprehend to be a Grievance, without making the least Inquiry into their Complaints? Or shall we sit 3 or 4 Days longer than some Gentlemen intend we should? As this seems to be the only Question at present before us, I think it is easy for any Gentleman to determine, which Side to take; for my own Part, I shall certainly be for going into the Committee moved for.

J—ph D—rs, Esq; I am so far, Sir, from being for the Question, that I think this House shews a great deal of Good-Nature, in allowing the Petition to lie upon the Table; for, in my Opinion, it ought to be rejected. I shall, indeed, Sir, readily be for any Thing that may discourage not only the Running, but the Importation of Coffee, Tea or Chocolate; for I wish we would or could be made all to return to the good old Way of our Ancestors, in breakfasting upon good *English* Ale and Bread and Cheese. Both the Men and the Women of those Days were, I believe, as strong and as healthy as they are now, and yet what they made use of for Breakfast, did not carry one Penny out of the Nation: However, I think we may find out a much properer Time for enquiring into this Affair, than the very last Session of a Parliament, and a Session which must be taken up in Things of much greater Consequence to this Nation, and to *Europe* in general.

An Hon. Gentleman talked much of a Scheme which was before us last Year, which he called a wicked Scheme; but I differ, Sir, so far from him, that I think the Gentlemen in the Administration never did a Thing so wrong as the Giving up of that Scheme: I then thought, and I still think, that it would have been very much for the Interest of the Nation in general; and I am very sure it might have been carried, if those Gentlemen had not of themselves let it drop.

The Question was then put for referring the Petition to a Committee of the whole House; and upon a Division, was carried in the Negative, 233 against 155. But no Question was put for ordering it to lie on the Table; so that it was entirely dropt.

On Feb. 5. Sir *John Rusburt* presented to the House (according to Order) a Bill to prevent the infamous Practice of Stock-jobbing; which was received and read the first Time, and ordered to be read a second Time.

DEBATE on the Motion for additional Land-Forces.

NEXT Day the House (according to Order) resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider further of the Supply granted to his Majesty; and the proper Estimates being referr'd to that Committee, as soon as Sir *Charles Turner* had taken the Chair,

T—de A——*tes* Esq; stood up and spoke as follows: Sir, by the Employment I have the Honour to be in, it naturally falls within my Province, to take Notice of the Estimates laid before us, relating to the Charge of the Guards, Garrisons, and other Land-Forces in *Great Britain*, in the Plantations, and in *Minorca* and *Gibraltar*, for the Year ensuing: By these Estimates Gentlemen will find, that the Charge for next Year does but very little exceed that for last Year; and therefore, considering the present State of Affairs in *Europe*, I think it would be but mispending the Time of the Committee, to say any Thing to the Question I have now in my Hand to move to you.

B The Difference between the Situation this Nation is in now, and the Situation it was in last Year, sufficiently justifies the small Addition proposed to be made to our Land-Forces; the Addition is no more than 1800 Men, and even this is proposed to be made in the easiest and least expensive Way: We have now 3 Regiments at *Gibraltar*, which have always hitherto been placed upon the *British* Establishment, because, tho' they were sent there on an Emergency, it was never before thought necessary to continue them there; but now that there is a War broke out in *Europe*, it cannot be thought safe to recall them, and therefore in their Place, it is proposed to add 1800 Men to the Regiments at home, and to place them for the future upon the Establishment for *Minorca* and *Gibraltar*: This, in my Opinion, is so reasonable, and so necessary a Demand, that I shall give the Committee no further Trouble, but beg Leave to move, That the Number of effective Men to be provided for Guards and Garrisons in *Great Britain*, and for *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, for 1734, be (including 1815 Invalids, and 555, which the six independent Companies consist of, for the Service of the *Highlands*) 17,704 Men, Commission and Non-Commission Officers included.

E Sir *W—m W—nd—m*. I do not stand up, Sir, to oppose this Motion; for as it stands, the Number of Forces proposed for next Year is, I find, no greater than that of last Year; and, according to present Situation, I believe the same Number will not be thought very extravagant: But as by what the Gentleman was pleased to say, there seems to be an Augmentation designed; I shall therefore beg Leave to propose an Amendment to his Question. However, I must first take Notice, that as to our own particular Situation, it is a difficult Matter to say what it is at present; for, as no Information, relating to that Question, has been given to the House, as all Steps taken to get a little Light into that Affair, have been stoppt, and the very attempting to get it has been reflected on as disrespectful to his Majesty; I am sure no Gentleman

tleman can say, that, as a Member of this House, he knows as much of our present Situation as may justify his consenting to the laying of a new Load upon the People he represents.

No Gentleman in this House, Sir, can agree to any Demand of the Crown more cheerfully than I shall, when I see it reasonable and necessary; but when any Augmentation of our Forces, either by Sea or Land, is demanded, when any additional Load is desired to be laid on the People, while I have the Honour to be one of the Representatives of the People, I shall always expect to have sufficient Reasons shewn me, before I give my Consent for complying with any such Demand; and therefore, on every such Occasion, I think, a full Information ought to be given as to the Situation of our Affairs, that we may thence judge, whether we ought to consent to what is proposed: Nay, tho' nothing more were to be asked, but to keep up for next Year the same Number that was kept up last Year, yet, as it is a heavy Charge on the People, and cannot surely be always necessary, the Consent of Parliament ought not to be expected, without giving us some good Reasons for so doing.

For this Reason, I hope, Sir, that some Gentleman who can inform us, will rise up and let us know something of our present Circumstances: It is high Time we should know not only our present Situation, but likewise what Share we are to take, or if we are to take any in the War now begun in *Europe*: It is chiefly with this View that I am to offer an Amendment to the Question, that some Gentleman may rise up, and give me some Argument, afford me some Excuse, for my consenting to lay a new Load upon a People whom I know to be already most heavily loaded. I know, Sir, we are in a Committee, and that therefore I may be indulged in speaking more than once, for which Reason I shall now add no more, but only move, That the Words, *and including the three Regiments of Tirrawley, Grove and Kirk*, may be added to the Question.

H—y P—lb—m, Esq; My Opinion, Sir, is the same with that of the Hon. Gentleman who made you this Motion; the Augmentation proposed is, I think, so very small, the Manner of doing it so easy, and so little expensive, and the Necessity for doing it so evident, that I did not expect that either I or any Gentleman else should have been under a Necessity of saying any Thing in Support of the Motion. The Hon. Gentleman who spoke last has proposed an Amendment, and wants much it seems to be inform'd of our present Situation, and hopes some Gentleman will stand up and satisfy him: I do not take upon me to speak as a Person any way concerned in the Administration, I speak only as

a Member of this House, and, as such, I want no further Information; the Lights I have, and which every Gentleman in this House must know, are sufficient to enable me to give my Vote in the present Question: If other Gentlemen, whose Curiosity may be greater than mine, want to know more, I am afraid they will return from the House no wiser, in that Respect, than they came to it; for Gentlemen are not obliged to say more than what is necessary for their present Argument, nor are they bound, on every Occasion, to satisfy the private Curiosity of other Men.

Every Gentleman, Sir, must know the present Circumstance of Affairs in *Europe*, and from that alone he must see the Necessity of the Augmentation proposed: The 3 Regiments now at *Gibraltar*, have been, till now, kept upon the *British* Establishment, because it was not expected, we should have been obliged to have continued them there; but now that there is a War broke out in *Europe*, now that our Neighbours have all great Armies in the Field, and great Fleets at Sea, would any Man think it prudent in us, to diminish the Strength of that Place by recalling those 3 Regiments? Or can any Gentleman in this House think a less Number of regular Troops at home necessary now in the Time of War, than what was last Year, in Time of Peace, thought necessary for the Defence of his Majesty's Person and Government? Surely no Gentleman can think so, and therefore I cannot see how he can disagree with the Question before us, since all thereby proposed is but a small additional Expence of 34 or 35,000*l.* to the Nation; it is only an Augmentation of our Forces at home, equal to, and in the Room of those 3 Regiments, which it is now become necessary to put upon a foreign Establishment; for after they are once put upon that Establishment, they cannot be called home, whatever Necessity we may have for them here; and, for all that has been formerly said about numerous Standing Armies, I know very well, that while I serv'd in another Office, we never were able to make such a Disposition of Quarters, as to have it in our Power to call above 3 or 4000 Men together, upon any Emergency. For these Reasons, Sir, I cannot agree to the Amendment proposed; on the contrary, I never was, I think, clearer in any one Question, than I am in that which you now have in your Hand.

G—e H—te, Esq; Sir, as the Situation of Affairs in *Europe* is very much altered since last Year, so my Opinion, with Respect to our Army is greatly changed. I was, 'tis true, last Year against keeping up such a Number of regular Troops, as the Majority of this House were in last Session pleased to agree to; but the Reasons which then made me vote against the Number proposed, seem

to be good Reasons for agreeing to what is now proposed. We were then in a State of perfect Tranquillity, both at home and abroad; but now the Scene is changed, and we are in great Danger of being involved in the War already broke forth: Do not we see the King of *France*, who, for some Years, has been in a State of Inaction, and seemed to mind nothing but his Pleasures, do we not see, I say, that young Monarch now applying himself to publick Business, and following the Foot-Steps of his ambitious Predecessor? Do not we see, that he, by his Armies, in Conjunction with those of *Spain* and *Sardinia*, has, in a very short Time, over-run a great Part of *Italy*: This, Sir, has given the Alarm to all the Princes of *Europe*, and ought to give us some Sort of Alarm likewise; we are, perhaps, amongst the most remote from Danger, but it may reach us at last; and in such Circumstances I should think it very unwise not to be upon our Guard; for which Reason I cannot but agree to a Demand, which in itself I think so modest and reasonable; and I wish the present Question had been agreed to without any Opposition or Debate, in order to convince the whole World, that there is a good Harmony subsisting between his Majesty and his Parliament.

W—m S—pp—n, Esq; Sir, notwithstanding what has been said by the two Hon. Gentlemen who spoke last, I am of the same Opinion with my Hon. Friend who moved for an Amendment; for unless we are to have some Share in the War, I can see no Necessity, nor any Reason for the Augmentation proposed; because I am well assured, none of the Powers engaged in War will attack us, if we stand neutral; and if his Majesty were resolved to take any Share in the War, or even to give the least Assistance to either of the Parties engaged, he would certainly have communicated his Resolutions to his Parliament: Surely those Gentlemen who have always thought, at least of late Years, that an Army of 18,000 Men is necessary in Times of Peace, to support his Majesty's Government, can never think the Addition of 1800 will enable him to take any Share in the War, or to assist any of his Allies; from hence I must conclude, that his Majesty is not to take any Share in the War, so that the Smallness of the Augmentation demanded, which they make Use of as an Argument for prevailing with us to agree to it, is with me a very strong Argument for refusing to give my Consent.

But, Sir, the chief Argument with me for being against the present Question is, that I am afraid lest the Number of Forces kept up last Year should come to be thought always necessary, even in the Times of the most profound Peace; and indeed the Gentle-

man who spoke last but one seemed to insinuate as much, so that from henceforth we may reckon an Army of 18,000 Men as a Part of our Constitution; and even this Army it seems is always to be augmented whenever any little Quarrel happens between any two of our Neighbours, and that whether we are to have any Share in the Quarrel or not: This is the principal Reason, Sir, why I cannot agree to the Question, as it now stands, and therefore I shall be for the Amendment proposed.

W—m P—ney, Esq; Sir, the Hon. Gentleman who moved the Question did extremely well in explaining it to the Committee, for it is in itself so intricate, that without that Explanation, I believe very few in the House would have understood it, or could have imagin'd, that a large Augmentation was thereby meant to be made to our Land Forces in *Great Britain*: By the Words of the Question no greater Number of Land Forces than what was voted last Year appears to be demanded, yet when it comes to be explained, we find there is a Demand for an Augmentation of about 2000 Men: Here, Sir, is an Army in Disguise; it really puts me in Mind of *Mr. Bay's* Army in the Play, for it would have been an Army *incog.* if the Gentleman had not been pleased to discover it.

An Hon. Gentleman told us, that those 3 Regiments now at *Gibraltar*, if they should once be put upon that Establishment, could not be called home, let the Occasion for them here be never so pressing; this I cannot admit; but granting it, have we not 12,000 Men in *Ireland*, from whence we may call home as many as we please, on any Emergency: Has not this been done, Sir, in former Times? And did not the Parliament willingly make up the Difference of the Pay, and all other Charges attending the transporting of them: Besides this, cannot we call for Troops from *Holland*, whenever we have Occasion? Has not this likewise been formerly done? We know the *Dutch* are by Treaties obliged to furnish us with 10,000 Men, if we should be attacked by any Power in *Europe*, and at their own Expence too; tho' I believe that we never had any such Assistance from them, but what our Parliament was obliged to pay for.

The Gentleman spoke likewise of the Disposition of Quarters, and the Difficulty of getting a Number of Men together, on any Emergency. Sir, I have had the Honour to serve in that Office, as well as the Hon. Gentleman, and I never knew a Disposition of Quarters so made, but that almost all the Troops in *Great Britain* could be got together by regular Marches, Time enough to oppose any Enemy that could come against us, unless they should drop from the Clouds; Y y

I cannot comprehend from whence Gentlemen imagine such Troops should be sent against us. Must they not march from their several Quarters to the Sea-Coast of that Country from whence they are to come? Must they not have a Fleet of Ships to transport them, and a fair Wind to bring them to this Island? Will not all this take up Time enough to give us an Opportunity of assembling our Forces? This really, Sir, to me seems to be raising Fantoms in the Air, in order to find Pretences for loading the People with Taxes.

The Amendment proposed was not, I believe, Sir, meant by the Hon. Gentleman, so much to be insisted on, as to oblige those Gentlemen who desire us to consent to this Augmentation, to shew us some Reason for so doing; and with this View I must join with him, and will be for the Amendment, till I hear some Reason given for the Augmentation: If those Gentlemen will shew us any Reasons for what they ask, and they shall appear sufficient, I make no Doubt but my worthy Friend will be ready to drop his Amendment; and, till some Reason is offered, I think I have no Occasion to say any Thing more on this Subject.

Mr. P--lb--m stood up again, and explained a little what he had before said, with Respect to the calling home the Regiments from *Gibraltar*, and with Respect to the Disposition of Quarters. And then,

W-----r P--m--r, Esq; spoke thus: I cannot but think, Sir, that it is highly reasonable for Gentlemen to expect a little more Satisfaction than what they have yet got, as to the Necessity for this Augmentation, before they agree to it. This House has always been said to hold the Purse of the People, but if we should agree to any Tax, or to any Measure which may oblige us to load the People with Taxes, without the least Reason assigned, I am sure we could not justly be said to be Masters of the Purse of the People; we would be only the Slaves who carry it, in order to open it as often, and as wide as our Masters shall please to command. From all that has been yet said, I cannot see that we are in any immediate Danger, either at home or abroad; and I am afraid that the putting of those 3 Regiments on the Establishment of *Gibraltar* may be done with a View to make the People feel the great Expence of that Place, in order to make them sick of it, and so to induce them the more easily to agree to the delivering it up.

Hon. E--d D--y, Esq; The Number of Land Forces now proposed to be added to the Number voted last Year, I must own to be but very inconsiderable; but, Sir, as the Number voted last Year was by many Thousands more than I then thought necessary, I must now look upon all those Thousands as

an Addition made this Year to the Number of our Land Forces; and as that Addition is much larger than I can judge to be necessary, I cannot but be against any new Levies.

Gentlemen tell us, that the Expence of this Augmentation can be but very small; it is, say they, but 34 or 35,000 *l.* but to this I must add the Expence of those many thousands which last Year I thought unnecessary, and in this Light the additional Expence of our Army for this Year will amount almost to hundreds of thousands: Besides this, Sir, those Gentlemen seem to forget that every Man added to the Army is a Man taken from the Labour and Industry of their Country; and with this View the real Loss to the Nation will amount to double that Sum: Do they think that the Labour of a working Man is to be valued at nothing? Sir, I believe that the Labour of every working Man in the Kingdom, one with another, brings in 20 *l.* to his Country: It is by the Labour and Industry of such Men that the Trade, and, consequently, the Riches and the Power of this Nation is supported; and therefore the taking of any such Man from his Labour must be doing a real Injury to his Country.

What was mentioned by an Hon. Gentleman some Time ago, affords me, Sir, a most melancholy Consideration: He was afraid lest an Army of at least 18,000 Men should come to be made a Part of our Constitution, and I am of Opinion, that his Fears are too well founded; for so many Gentlemen seem now to look upon an Army of 18,000 as always necessary for the Support of our Government, that tho' we have for some Years past been in a State of the most profound Peace, yet we have never been able to reduce our Army below that Number; but, as I am of Opinion, Sir, that that Number is not necessary in Time of Peace, as I think it is sufficient, even tho' we were in some little Danger of a War, therefore I cannot agree to any Augmentation, unless I see some greater Necessity for it than has been yet shewn to this House.

Sir W--m W--nd--m. I stand up, Sir, only to observe, that my Hon. Friend over the Way has done me Justice in saying, that the Amendment I have moved for was principally with a View of having a little Information from some of those Gentlemen in the Administration, as to our present Situation, that I may from thence be able to judge of the Necessity of complying with the Demand made by the Crown: This is, Sir, I think no more than what the Parliament ought to desire, and has a Right to expect; and therefore I cannot even yet think, but that some Gentleman, who is qualified for that Purpose, will rise up, and give us at least as much Information about our present Circumstances, as may enable us to give some Reason for our consenting to this Augmentation.

Mr.

Mr. C—r of the E—r. Tho' I had resolved, Sir, to sit still and say nothing in the present Debate, yet, as I believe myself pointed at by the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, when I find myself so often called upon, I cannot forbear giving some Answer to what Gentlemen have been pleased to say against this small Augmentation of our Forces. As to the Information which Gentlemen are so fond of having, I do not know what they mean by it, or what they want to be informed about: It is publickly known, that there is a War now broke forth in *Europe*, even his Majesty in his Speech has taken Notice of it, and in the same Speech his Majesty has declared to us, that he is as yet no Way engaged in the War, nor would determine himself 'till he had examined the several Facts alledged by both Parties: This, Sir, is a Deliberation consistent with the Wisdom of his Majesty's Counsels, and from thence we may be assured, that we are not as yet any Way concerned in the War; we may, 'tis true, be concerned relatively and consequentially, but we must conclude that we are under no present Engagements; and therefore I must think it strange in Gentlemen to expect or desire any Declaration from his Majesty, by those who have the Honour to serve him, before any Resolution has been taken, nay, even before his Majesty could have an Opportunity to enquire into those Facts, which, he has told us, he will thoroughly examine before he determines what to do.

But, Sir, as it is a Matter of the utmost Consequence to all the Powers engaged in the War to know what Part *Great Britain* is to take, or whether or no we are to take any Part in it, we may conclude, they are all extremely anxious about knowing what we are to do; and, surely, if there is any Power in *Europe*, who may in the Event become the Enemy of *Great Britain*, particularly interested in, and therefore anxious to know the Result of our Deliberations, it would be a very good Reason, if there were none other, why Gentlemen ought not to expect the Satisfaction they seem so earnestly to desire, especially before so full and so publick an Audience: This, I say, Sir, would be a good Reason for his Majesty not to declare his Resolution here, even supposing he had come to a Resolution; and till his Majesty thinks fit to publish his Resolutions, Gentlemen may believe, that neither I, nor any other Member of this House, who has the Honour to serve the Crown, will be ready to make any Declarations in this Place, 'till we do it *ex Officio*, and by his Majesty's Orders.

Now, Sir, without any further Information, let us consider the present Circumstances of *Europe*; we all know that a War is broke out in *Europe*; we are not immediately

concerned in this War, but as the too great Success of either Side may indanger the Liberties of *Europe*, we are certainly concerned in the Event; and so those Powers who may perhaps now, or may hereafter come to think, that we are in Interest, nay, for Self-preservation, obliged to declare against them, will not they, as soon as they begin to think so, endeavour to take us at a Disadvantage, and, before we are prepared for our Defence, in order to prevent our attempting to put a Stop to those ambitious Views which Success may inspire them with? Is it not therefore necessary to be upon our Guard, and to provide in Time for our own Defence? Upon this Consideration, the Necessity for the Augmentation, is to me so apparent, that it speaks itself; and the Demand is, in itself, so modest, and so evidently shews, that his Majesty's Inclinations are to lay as few and as easy Burdens on his People as possible, that I must say, the making of any Difficulty to comply with it does not testify any great Respect towards his Majesty, nor a warm Affection or Zeal for his Government; and therefore I hope the Question will be agreed to without any Amendment.

As to the Insinuation made by a worthy Gentleman over the Way, that there was a Design to make *Gibraltar* appear expensive, in order to make People sick of it, and induce them to consent to the giving it up, the repeating this Insinuation is, I think, Sir, a sufficient Answer to it; for to say that the Ministry, by adding 3 Regiments to the Defence of *Gibraltar*, are in a Plot to deliver it up, has something so ridiculous in it, that I am surpris'd it should drop from the Hon. Gentleman; but I am persuaded he did not mean to be serious when he made that Insinuation, and therefore I shall take no further Notice of it.

W—m P—ney, Esq; I believe, Sir, most Gentlemen, as well as myself, whose Expectations were raised when the Hon. Gentleman stood up, have met with a very great Disappointment: That Gentleman, from whom we had Reason to expect something of Weight, has not only told us, that we are to have no Reason for what we are desired this Day to agree to, but has given us very little Hopes of having at any other Time that Information which one would think a *British* Parliament might expect. Are we, Sir, to vote powerful Fleets, and numerous Armies; are we to lay new and great Burdens on the People, and all this without being told any Reasons for it? What Satisfaction can we give our Constituents, if they should ask us, why we have augmented our Standing Army, which must always be dangerous to the Liberties of our Country? Why we have consented to the increasing the publick Charge, which is already heavier than the People can bear?

Really, Sir, to this most material and reasonable Question, I know, as yet, of no other Answer we can give, but only that his Majesty has told us, there is a War broke forth in *Europe*, in which we have no Manner of Concern; and his Ministers have told us, we ought to be afraid of the Armies and Fleets raised and fitted out by our Neighbours, because they are under an absolute Necessity of employing all their Armies and Fleets in those Parts of *Europe* which are most remote from us. We have Zeal, Sir, I hope we have all a great deal of Affection and Zeal for his Majesty's Person and Government; but do not let us allow his Majesty's Ministers, or even his Majesty himself, to expect such a blind Zeal from his Parliament: It is inconsistent with the Dignity of Parliament, and I am sure that Parliaments 30 or 40 Years ago would hardly have been persuaded to have shewn so much Complaisance to the Ministers of the Crown.

What has been observed by some Gentlemen, I own, Sir, weighs greatly with me: From the Demand now before us we have Reason to conclude, that 18,000 Men may be the Number intended to be always kept up within this Island, even in the Times of the greatest Tranquillity, and that the Augmentation now required is done with a View only, that when such Times shall again come, those in the Administration may have an Opportunity to pretend great Merit, in reducing the 1800 Men now proposed to be added: We all know what Jealousies and Fears the People have entertained at the continuing of this Army, during the last Years of perfect Peace both at home and abroad; and if that Measure should be again attempted, when those Days of Peace return, every Man must then conclude, that that Army is kept up, not for defending us against our foreign Enemies, but for the Safety of those who have rendered themselves odious among the People, and for defending them against the Resentment of an injured and a plundered Nation: If this should ever happen to be our unfortunate Condition, the People will certainly make a Struggle for the Preservation of their antient Constitution: This will certainly be the Case, I know it must be the Case, and when it is, I hope those who shall bring us under such hard Circumstances, will find, that even this Army of 18,000 Men will not be able to stand against the whole People of *England*. I have a great Opinion of many Gentlemen who have now Commands in the Army, and if such a Case should happen, while they have any Command, I make no doubt but they would behave as their Predecessors did at the Revolution; I dare say, that most of them would soon be found of the People's Side of the Question.

If we are, Sir, to have any Share in the War, the Addition of 1800 Men is but a

Bawble; and if we are to have no Share, why should we bring any additional Expence upon the People? The Hon. Gentleman would not say, positively, that we were engaged or were not engaged, or that we were or were not to be engaged, but that we might be engaged relatively and consequentially; and this refined Quibbling, Sir, is, it seems, all the Satisfaction, all the Reasons, he will vouchsafe to give Gentlemen, for agreeing to the Demand now made upon them. Is an *English* House of Commons to take this as a Reason for breaking in upon their Constitution, and for loading their Constituents with Taxes? Surely, Sir, let our Condition be never so bad, and I believe it is bad enough, if the Advice of Parliament is wanted, if their Assistance be desired, they ought to have a full Information of our present Circumstances, and sufficient Reasons given for the Demand that is made; but it seems we are for the future to have no other Reason given us for complying with any Demand that comes from the Crown, but only because it is asked; and if any Gentleman scruples to take that as a sufficient Reason, he is, it seems, always to be told, that it will be looked upon as a Want of Respect to the Crown: Let us, Sir, have all due Respect to the Crown, but for God's Sake let us have likewise some Regard to ourselves and to our Fellow-Subjects, without which I am sure we have no Business here, nor can the Nation ever reap any Benefit from our meeting in this Place.

The extraordinary Expence of the Augmentation is said to be but 34 or 35,000*l*. It is, at least, 35,000*l*. which may, perhaps, sound but little in those Ears which are accustomed to Millions, yet it is a great Sum, and will be thought so by the People of *England*, who are already over-burdened with Taxes: It is an additional Expence, which no Man ought to consent to, unless he sees an absolute Necessity for so doing: The Hon. Gentleman, 'tis true, says, that the Necessity is apparent, and speaks for itself: It is well it does so, for no Gentleman has as yet thought fit to say any Thing for it; but as I neither can see this apparent Necessity, nor hear it speak for itself, I must therefore as yet be for the Amendment proposed.

Sir *W—m T—ge*. The Question now before us is, in my Opinion, Sir, so reasonable, and the additional Expence, which the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last was pleased to call a great Sum, is, I think, so far otherwise, that I believe every Gentleman, when he heard the Motion made, was surprized at the Modesty of the Demand, and could not but admire his Majesty's Wisdom, and the great Care he had of doing nothing that might be burdensome to his People.

Gentlemen may, if they will, shut their Eyes, and not see that Object which stands before

fore them in the clearest Light, but the Necessity of what is now proposed is to me as apparent as the Sun at Noon-day. Tho' we be not as yet any Way engaged in the War, yet no Man can answer for future Events, nor can we know what Resolutions foreign Courts may hereafter come to; for this Reason we ought to be always well provided for our Defence against any sudden Attempts; and we certainly ought to be better provided when our Neighbours are at War, than when they are in a profound Tranquillity: When they are at War, they always have Armies in the Field, and Fleets at Sea; they have many Pretences for marching their Armies wherever they have a Mind, and for fitting out what Fleets, and at what Places they think proper; with some of these they may come upon us at unawares, and when we think their War-like Preparations are designed against those they are actually at War with; whereas, in Time of Peace, tho' they have Standing Armies, yet those Armies are dispersed and in Quarters, and if any Number should be gathered together, and prepared for an Expedition, we would have a Right to demand the Reason for such Preparations, and we could easily judge, whether or no they were, or could be, designed against us; as to their Fleet, it is the same, tho' in Time of Peace they have Ships of War, as well as other Ships, yet their Men of War are mostly laid up in their Docks, and their other Ships employed in their proper Business, and if they should begin to fit out a Fleet, and prepare for a naval Expedition, we would have a Right to demand whither they were designed, and could easily judge, whether or no they could be intended for an Invasion upon us; in either of which Cases, we would have Time to prepare for giving them a proper Reception: From hence it appears evident to me, that it is necessary for us to have both a greater Fleet at Sea, and a more numerous Army at Land, when our Neighbours are engaged in War, than we have Occasion for when they are all in a profound Peace; and I cannot but think that the Augmentation proposed is the least that can be judged necessary.

As to the Conjectures, Sir, of what may be intended when Peace shall be again restored to Europe, I think no Gentleman now in this House is any Way concerned in them, or obliged to give any Answer to what has been said on that Subject: If what ought to be then done be not done, let those who shall then have the Honour to advise the King answer for it; but a Supposition that they will not do their Duty, can be no Reason for us to refuse doing our Duty. The Hon. Gentleman said, he had heard no Body speak, or give any Reason for the Necessity of the Augmentation; if it be so, I am sure I have heard no Gentleman say any Thing against it; and therefore, since nothing has been said of either Side of

the Question, let every Gentleman give his Vote, according to what his own Thoughts may suggest to him.

M—r of the R—lls. As I shall always shew a great Willingness in complying with any Demands which his Majesty shall make, when I see they are requisite for supporting the Honour and Interest of this Nation, so I shall always be extremely cautious of agreeing to any Thing that may bring new Loads upon the People, unless when I plainly see an absolute Necessity for it; and therefore, Sir, I cannot, for all I have yet seen or heard, agree to the present Motion. I am not ignorant of the State of Affairs abroad, but as we are not as yet any Way engaged in the Quarrel, I can see no Danger from any Power abroad, and therefore no Reason for our making any additional Provision for our Defence; for tho' we were really in some Danger, we have, in my Opinion, sufficiently provided against it by the large Armament already voted for the Sea-Service, which, as it is our natural Defence, was cheerfully, and unanimously agreed to: Nay, if we were to give some Assistance to some of the Powers engaged in the War, we may assist as effectually by our Fleet as by our Land Forces, and in such Case I should be for augmenting our naval Force rather than our Land Army.

The Hon. Gentleman who spoke last endeavoured to shew, that we ought to be better provided for our Defence, when our Neighbours are at War, than when they are in a profound Peace; but in my Opinion, if we are no Way engaged in the Quarrel, we have then less Occasion to provide for our Defence, because when our Neighbours are engaged against one another, they will be so far from doing any Thing that may disoblige us, that we must then be courted by both Parties, if not for our Assistance, at least for this, that we may observe an exact Neutrality; and to me it seems a Paradox to say, that any Nation will be the more ready to attack us, because they are already deeply engaged against another Enemy. For this Reason I must conclude, we are in no Danger, till we come to a Resolution to join one Side or other; then indeed we ought to provide for Offence, as well as Defence, and till then we ought to save as much as possible, that we may be able to execute our Resolution, when taken, with the more Vigour.

Gentlemen talk of France, and of their great Armies in the Field, and their great Fleets at Sea; but I am sure we can be at present under no Apprehensions from them: That Nation has now Work enough on their Hands, in sending two great Armies to different Parts of the World, and providing at the same Time for their own Security at home; and whatever Fleets they may have at Sea, they will have Occasion for them elsewhere; nay,

may, even tho' they had not, I doubt much if it be in their Power to send any such Fleet to Sea as could give us just Cause of Fear; for when Gentlemen talk of Invasions, I hope they do not think this Nation is to be conquered by 10 or 12000 Men; and unless they could send at once such an Army as would be able to conquer the Nation, any lesser Number would be so many Men thrown away; for our Fleet would not only prevent Succours from coming to them, but would likewise prevent those who landed from making their Escape out of the Island.

But besides its not being in the Power of *France* to attempt any Thing at present against us, I believe it is not in their Inclination: They certainly look upon us as their Allies, and have, I believe, good Reason for so doing. I shall not enter into a Disquisition of the many Engagements we are under to foreign Powers, but I am afraid they are such, that whatever Measure we may pursue with Respect to the present War, it will not be easy to reconcile the Honour and Interest of this Nation: If our Interest should call upon us to assist the Emperor and his Allies, I am afraid we must forfeit our Honour to *France* and her Allies; and if our Interest should call upon us to assist *France* and *Spain*, we must equally forfeit our Honour to the Emperor; nay, if we should observe an exact Neutrality, I am afraid both Parties would have some Grounds for accusing us of a Breach of Faith: I shall not pretend to give Names or Epithets to any Measure, or to any Minister, but a Management which has brought the Honour and Interest of the Nation thus to clash, I cannot applaud.

As the Design of proposing the Amendment seems to be only in order to procure some Information, or some Reasons for the Augmentation demanded, I must say, that if the Demand on one Side be thought so very modest, what is asked on the other is fully as modest; and if nothing has been said for or against the Augmentation, it certainly ought not to be complied with, for there is an eternal Reason against it; the People of *England* are not to be loaded with unnecessary Charges: If this new Charge be unnecessary, it ought not to be complied with, and if there be a Necessity for it, it ought to be shewn to this House; the Parliament has as good a Right to have the Reasons for any Demand from the Crown laid before them, nay, and a better too, in my Opinion, than the Crown has to expect their Compliance, without shewing them any Reasons for their so doing; and therefore, till some Reasons be offered for our complying with the Demand, I shall be for the Amendment.

Mr. S.—I am heartily sorry, Sir, I should differ from the Hon. and Learned Gentleman over the Way, with whom I have always, till

now, concurred in Questions of this Nature, and for whom I have the greatest Esteem. As I have always been one of those who have appeared against keeping up numerous Standing Armies in Time of Peace, I think myself obliged to give my Reasons before I give my Vote for the Augmentation proposed; for tho' I never thought we ought to keep up a large Standing Army in Time of a profound Peace, yet when there is a War actually kindled in *Europe*, when our Neighbours are all making vast military Preparations, I must think we ought then to add a little to our Forces both by Sea and Land, not only for our own Security at home, but likewise to add to the Influence we may have, and ought to aspire to, with all the Parties engaged in the War.

It is certain, Sir, if there were no Parties nor Divisions among us, this Nation would have no Occasion to be afraid of 10 or 12000 Men poured in by Surprise upon us; in such Case I do not believe any Power in *Europe* would attempt to invade us with double the Number; but as there are Parties and Divisions among us, and always will be, as long as we are a free People, 10 or 12000 Foreigners, joined by all the Power of the Disaffected among ourselves, might do us a great deal of Mischief, if not overturn our present happy Establishment, especially if we had but a small Number of Forces at home.

It is likewise certain, Sir, that none of the Powers engaged in the War will attack us, or do any Thing to disoblige us as long as we remain quiet, and they are under no Apprehensions of our being about to join with their Enemies. But when such a general War is broke forth, when the united Forces of *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*, are tearing the Emperor's Dominions in *Italy* asunder, are we to be altogether unattentive? Are we to sit entirely regardless of a War which may end in the total Overthrow of the Balance of Power in *Europe*? Surely, Sir, we are not; and if we should resolve to join either Party, or if either of them should but suspect such a Thing, would not the Party against whom we should resolve to join, or who suspected we were to come to such a Resolution; would not that Party, I say, attempt to make a sudden Invasion upon us? For tho' they could not perhaps expect immediate Success, yet it might give such a Diversion to the Arms of this Nation, as might prevent its being in our Power to put a Stop to their ambitious Views, or to preserve the Balance of Power in *Europe*.

In this Case, Sir, it is of no Weight to say, that, after we have come to such a Resolution, it will be Time enough to provide for our Defence; for, as I have said, the Apprehensions of our Neighbours may be sufficient Cause for them to invade us, and those Apprehensions we can know nothing of till we feel the Effects of them; but even as to our own

own Resolutions, they may happen to be discovered, as soon as taken, and as it requires a long Time to raise any Number of Land Forces, and to discipline the Men, it will be too late then to begin only to provide for our Security at home; we ought before we come to any such Resolution, at least, to be secure at home; and then, after it is taken, we may with Ease provide for acting an offensive Part.

Upon the whole, Sir, if any very large Augmentation had been now demanded, I should not perhaps have given my Vote for complying with it, without having been a little better inform'd as to the Necessity of it; but the Augmentation now asked is so small, that I look on it as done chiefly with a View of shewing the World, that there is a good Harmony between his Majesty and his Parliament, which, perhaps, some Powers abroad have been made to doubt of; and therefore I shall not only heartily comply with the Demand, but I wish no Sort of Unwillingness had been shewn by any Gentleman; for as nothing can give so great a Weight to the Counsels of this Nation among foreign Princes, as a strict Union between the King and his Parliament, so nothing can give such a Stab to our Influence abroad, as an Attempt to destroy that Union; and if *Great Britain* should lose all the Weight it has in the Scale of *Europe*, to what a pass it might bring the Affairs of *Europe*, I shall leave to Gentlemen to judge.

In short, Sir, those who oppose an Army, as well when it becomes necessary, as when it was unnecessary, I must suspect of having some other Reasons for their so doing, than those they publicly avow. To me the Necessity of the Augmentation asked appears sufficiently evident, and therefore I am ready to give my Vote against the Amendment proposed.

After him T——s W——m, Esq; Member for S——y in *Suffolk*, spoke against the Augmentation. And then,

Sir J——n S——s A——ns said: I cannot persuade myself, Sir, to agree to the Motion as it now stands, because I have, as yet, heard no Reason given for convincing me, that the Augmentation demanded is necessary; for tho' it be called but a small Number, yet to me and to all those who were last Year of Opinion, that the Number of Land Forces then voted was by much too large, the Augmentation must appear very considerable, as has been already observed. By the Arguments I had formerly heard, for continuing the Army, and those I now hear for augmenting it, it appears to me, that some Gentlemen are of Opinion, that an Army of at least 18,000 Men will always be necessary for the Support of our Government, and consequently must become a Part of our Constitution; for when our Neighbours are all at

Peace, we are told we must keep up at least that Number of Troops, because our Neighbours have nothing to do with their Troops elsewhere, and may therefore make a sudden Invasion upon us; and when any two of our Neighbours are at War with one another, which is the present Case, we are told, we must keep up a numerous Standing Army, because our Neighbours have large Armies in the Field, and great Fleets at Sea, which they may turn suddenly against us.

I have, Sir, a very good Opinion of the *English* Soldier, and when they have been properly employ'd, and kept in Action, they have always done great Honour to their Country; but an Army kept at home, in a State of Inaction, and wantoning in Lewdness and Luxury, till they have quite lost the true Spirit of *Englishmen*, and are become fit to be made Slaves themselves, may easily be persuaded to make Slaves of their Fellow-Subjects; and therefore I shall always be against keeping up a numerous regular Army within this Island, let the Pretences be never so plausible: Our Government has been supported for many Ages, without any such Army, and even during the whole Course of the last two great Wars, there never was a greater Number of Forces kept at home than the additional Number now proposed, above what I, as well as a great many other Gentlemen thought necessary last Year.

Gentlemen talk of Divisions among us, and of its being necessary to prepare for our Defence before we come to any Resolution; there may, Sir, be little Divisions among us, but as long as his Majesty enjoys the Affections of his People, those Divisions would immediately cease upon the Approach of a foreign Enemy; we would then all unite in the Defence of our King and Country: And as to preparing for our Defence, half the Number of Troops we now have would be sufficient to repel any small Invasion that could be suddenly brought upon us; and if any Design should be formed to invade us with a great Number of Troops, would not they require a great Number of transport Ships? Could such a naval Armament be prepared without our hearing of it? And have not we already voted a great naval Force, with which we might easily block up our Enemies in their own Harbour?

While the true Maxims of *English* Policy are pursued, neither his Majesty, Sir, nor any of his Successors, will ever have an Occasion for Standing Armies; the King will always find a Security in the Hearts and Purse of his People; but if ever a vicious Minister shall begin to act on other Maxims, Armies may then become necessary to screen the Minister, or even to support his Master; and such a Minister may perhaps find a corrupt Parliament, slavishly complying with

with his most unreasonable Demands: This may support him for a while, but the Spirit of the People will be roused at last, and even that Army, in which he puts his whole Trust, may probably join with the rest of their Countrymen in taking Vengeance of the Man who attempted to enslave his Country.

But as Standing Armies may be so model'd as to become Tools for tyrannical Power; therefore there is nothing a free People ought to be more cautious of; and as I can see no Necessity for the Augmentation, I cannot give my Consent to the Proposition. I do not, indeed, know our present Situation; but whatever it may be, if, by the Ignorance of him at the Helm, if by his shifting the Sails at every little Turn of the Wind, our Ship be brought into great Distress, and our Reckoning quite lost, he ought in Justice and Modesty to resign the Helm;—A general Council ought to be called, and every particular Circumstance laid before them, that they may from thence learn how Affairs stand, so as to be able to judge how to put the Ship in a right Course.

C—l C—y, Member for B—ny in Cornwall, spoke next for the Augmentation: And then the Question was put upon the Amendment, which, upon a Division, was carried in the Negative 262 against 162.

After this, the Question was put upon the first Motion, which was agreed to without a Division, and then the two following Resolutions were likewise agreed to, viz.

That a Sum not exceeding 647,429*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* Halfpenny, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the Charge of the said 17,704 Men for Guards, Garrisons, and other his Majesty's Land Forces in *Great-Britain, Guernsey, and Jersey*, for the Year 1734. And,

That a Sum not exceeding 203,996*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.* Halfpenny, be granted to his Majesty, for maintaining his Majesty's Forces and Garrisons in the Plantations, *Minorca, and Gibraltar*, and for Provisions for the Garrisons at *Annapolis-Royal, Canso, Placentia, and Gibraltar*, for the Year 1734.

DEBATE on the Motion about the Officers of the Army.

On Feb. 13. the Mutiny-Bill having been read a second Time, and committed to a Committee of the whole House, the Lord Viscount M—th, stood up and spoke as follows;

Sir, tho' an Army be, as yet, no Part of our Constitution, yet we find the Parliament has of late Years thought proper to keep a much greater Number of Forces on Foot in this Kingdom than was known in former Times. 'Tis true, Sir, I have always been one of those who thought a much less Number sufficient; but a Majority of both Houses

have been of a contrary Opinion, being thereto induced, as I believe, sometimes by treasonable Conspiracies at home, and at other times, by the Situation of our Affairs abroad, and the precarious State of the Affairs of *Europe* at the Time. This, Sir, has been our unfortunate Case, for many Years past, and it is to be feared, our Case for Years to come will not be much better; so that it is probable, the same Number of Forces, or perhaps a greater, may be thought necessary to be continued from Year to Year; and therefore, I think, it is the Business of Parliament to put our Army under such Regulations as may be proper and necessary for the Security of our Constitution.

A A numerous Standing Army, entirely under the Influence of the Crown, or of any one Man, has over-turned the Liberties of most Countries, and must always be dangerous to this; and tho' the Parliament have hitherto thought fit to consent to the keeping up the Number we now have, yet it is well known what Fears and Apprehensions that Measure has created in the Minds of the People, and therefore it is become necessary for us to think of some Regulation which may quiet their Minds, by securing our Constitution as much as possible against the bad Consequences usually attending the keeping up of a Standing Army: This, Sir, may, I think, be effected in a great measure by making our Army not altogether so dependent on the Crown as they are at present; for the less dependent the Army is upon any one Man, the less dangerous they must be to the Liberties of their Country; and with this View I shall beg Leave to make a Motion, which will, I hope, meet with a general Approbation.

D There is one Power, Sir, now enjoyed by the Crown, which must always be attended with the most dangerous Consequences; I mean the arbitrary Power of removing the Officers of the Army at Pleasure: At present, the Crown, or rather the Ministers and Favourites of the Crown, may remove any Officer of the Army, without any Cause assigned, nay, even without so much as accusing him of any Crime or Neglect in his military Capacity; and this Power must appear the more dangerous, when we consider how many Gentlemen of the Army have Seats in this House, as well as in the other House of Parliament.

E In all the other Countries of *Europe* which have any Pretences to Liberty, tho' perhaps none of them enjoy so much Freedom as we do, yet there are, by their Laws, some wise Provisions made, with respect to their Armies: In *Holland* no Officer can be broke but by the Sentence of a Court Martial; and in *Sweden*, during the Reign of their last King, they were so sensible of the many Inconveniences and great Danger of this absolute Power,

er, which their King had over the Army, that upon his Demise, they made a Law, that no Officer should thereafter be removed from his Commission, without the Consent of the Senate.

This must shew what Opinion all our Neighbours, who have any Regard for their Liberty, have of this arbitrary Power in the Crown; and as, I hope, there are no People on Earth who have a greater Regard to the Liberty of their Country, than the Gentlemen who now hear me, I shall therefore take up no more of your Time in opening this Affair, but shall take the Liberty to move, That Leave may be given to bring in a Bill for the better securing the Constitution, by preventing the Officers, not above the Rank of Colonels of Regiments, of such Land Forces as shall at any Time be allowed by Authority of Parliament, from being deprived of their Commissions, otherwise than by Judgment of a Court Martial to be held for that Purpose, or by Address of either House of Parliament.

Sir *J--n R--b-t.* Sir, the noble Lord, who has made you the Motion, has opened it in so full and clear a Manner, and has made it appear to me so reasonable, that I cannot help joining with his Lordship in the Motion. That a Standing Army is no Part of our Constitution, will not, I believe, be denied by any in this House, it being declared so by the Mutiny Bill, which we have just now read a second Time; but yet our Army has been kept up so many Years, and is likely to be kept up for so many Years to come, that it is high Time to provide some Antidote for that Evil which every Man so justly apprehends.

By the Mutiny Bill, Sir, it appears, that no common Soldier can be punished or dismissed as guilty of a Crime, 'till he be first tried and found guilty by a Court Martial; and that the Officers should be in a worse Situation, that they should be liable to be removed, as if guilty, without any Crime so much as alledged against them, or any Tryal or Sentence, appears to me so inconsistent, that I am surpris'd some Regulation in this Particular has not been made long ago.

The noble Lord took Notice, that there were, and, I believe, always will be a great many Officers of the Army who have Seats in Parliament; there are now above 40 who have Seats in this House, and tho' I have a great Opinion of their Honour, and do not doubt but that they will act with as much Integrity as any other Gentlemen in the House, yet as long as they are liable to be turned out of their Commissions at the Pleasure of a Minister, they may justly suspect that the Continuance of their Commissions may depend on their Behaviour in this House, and therefore they are more liable to a mini-

sterial, or a Court Dependence, than other Members are; for which Reason I am sure, they cannot disapprove of a Proposition meant chiefly to set them on the same independent Foot that other Gentlemen are on, with respect to their Behaviour in this House: I cannot, indeed, apprehend, that a Proposition in itself so reasonable can meet with any Opposition, but if it should, I make no Doubt of having the Assistance of those Gentlemen of the Army who have the Honour to be Members of this House, in the Support of a Proposition designed for their Security, as well as for securing the Liberties of their Country; I am only afraid lest Modesty may make some of them withdraw: This I shall be sorry for; but I hope none of them will shew so much Self-denial as to oppose the Motion, only because it is for their private Interest to agree to it. I shall not, Sir, on this Occasion give the House any further Trouble; the Regulation proposed is so apparently reasonable and necessary, that I do not think it requires much to be said, either to explain or enforce it; and if any Objections should be started, I hope other Gentlemen will take Care to remove them; therefore I shall only second the Motion.

T--s Cl--t--b--k, Esq; Member for *L--d* in *Cornewall.* Sir, notwithstanding what has been said by the noble Lord who made the Motion, and the Hon. Gentleman who seconded it, I cannot give my Concurrence. The noble Lord set out with saying, that a Standing Army is no Part of our Constitution: In this I'll agree with him; a Standing Army raised or kept up in Time of Peace without Consent of Parliament is against Law, and even with or without such Consent, it is no Part of our Constitution; God forbid it should ever become so: But the Parliament may sometimes find it necessary to keep up a Standing Army from Year to Year, for the Defence of our Constitution; and for this Purpose, the Parliament has of late Years consented to the keeping up of the Army, which some Gentlemen have, indeed, thought to consist of too great a Number, but I do not remember ever to have heard it so much as insinuated, that we ought not to have any regular Forces at all.

The Constitution of this Country is, Sir, the best I know or ever heard of; and therefore I shall always think that all that is incumbent on us, is to preserve and hand it down to those that shall come after us; but if there were any Fault or Flaw in it, the Proposition now made, would be so far from mending, that it would entirely sap and undermine it. It has always been the undoubted Prerogative of the Crown, to make and remove the Officers of the Army at Pleasure; this is a Part of our Constitution, and to invade the Prerogative, or wantonly to rob the Crown

of any Part of it, is an Invasion of our Constitution, which People ought to be very cautious of; for if we once begin to make Alterations or Innovations in our Constitution, it is not easy to tell, where it will end: If we once begin, we may be carried such Lengths, as may entirely subvert that Constitution which has rendered this Nation so rich and powerful, and makes us at present the happiest People on Earth.

While the Army continues, Sir, in its present Condition, while the Officers depend on the King for their Commissions, and the whole Army depends on Parliament for its Continuance and Pay, our Constitution cannot be subverted by Means of our Army, nor can we be in any Danger from any Number of Fortes so kept up; but if this Proposition should take Place, it would make the Army dangerous to our Constitution; the Army would then become independent both of King and Parliament, and might soon make themselves Masters of both. An Officer may be guilty of many Crimes, which might give good and sufficient Reason to his Majesty to remove him, and yet those Crimes may be such as cannot properly be tried by a Court Martial; for Example, Disaffection: His Majesty and all Mankind may be fully convinced of the Disaffection of an Officer, tho' it be impossible to prove that Disaffection to the Satisfaction of a Court Martial; and yet the Disaffection may be so flagrant, and so ready to break forth in some treasonable Act, that the Safety of the Government, the very Being of our Constitution, may depend upon the immediate Removal of that Officer; and as this Proposition, should it pass into a Law, would make such Officers the more bold and enterprising, the Consequences of their Disaffection, which could not then be immediately prevented, would be the more to be dreaded.

The noble Lord mentioned the Case of some of our neighbouring Countries, but I think, when we see other People more happy or free than ourselves, it is then Time enough to fly to other Countries to seek Examples for our Imitation: As to *Holland*, I cannot say I have lately considered their Constitution, and therefore I speak with Uncertainty; but I believe that, as to their Army, their Stadtholder has the same Power our King has; he may, I believe, remove the Officers of the Army at Pleasure, and for us to take from his Majesty that Power which all his Royal Predecessors have enjoyed, which even the States of *Holland* have trusted their supreme Magistrate with, would in my Opinion, appear very strange; especially since his Majesty has never once made an ill Use of that Power, nor done any Thing to deserve its being taken from him. In short, Sir, the Proposition now before us I take to be a

most dangerous Innovation, if not a thorough Alteration of our Constitution, and therefore I cannot consent to it.

S—/ S—ys, Esq; I am much surprized, Sir, to hear the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last say, that this Proposition would sap and undermine our Constitution; for if a Standing Army be no Part of our Constitution, as he himself admitted, how can any Regulation, with Respect to our Army, sap and undermine, or indeed have any Thing to do with our Constitution? It is certain, our Army is not, as yet, any Part of our Constitution; but if a Standing Army be continued, for any Time to come, upon the same Footing it is at present, some future ambitious King, or criminal Prime Minister, may model it so as to make it not only a Part, but, under them, the Whole of our Constitution; the Officers and other Dependents on the Crown, may at last become so numerous in both Houses of Parliament, that they may come to be almost the only Persons to meet here, in order to make Laws and impose Taxes, and then to send their Orders to their inferior Officers and Substitutes, to execute those Laws, and levy those Taxes; and all this under the Direction of an ambitious Prince, or a wicked Minister, who may make a blind Submission to the most arbitrary Commands, the only Tenure by which they are to hold their Commissions, or even their Seats in Parliament; and in such Case I would gladly know, where we could find the Liberties and Privileges of *England*, or any other Constitution, but that of our King, his Ministers, and his Army. This Power, which our Kings are said always to have enjoyed, and which Gentlemen are so much afraid of the Crown's being robbed of, is but a very new Prerogative; for a Standing Army is so far from being a Part of our Constitution, that till of late Years there never was any such Thing known in this Nation: Till the Revolution we never had any such Thing as a regular Standing Army; the Army that was raised at that Time, was raised to defend our Liberties and Properties, and to assist a Prince who came to rescue us from Slavery; as soon as the Danger was over, it was always understood, that the Army was to be disbanded, but the two heavy Wars we were successively engaged in, made it necessary to keep up a Standing Army, during the Reigns of that Prince and his Successor; and ever since that Time there have always been, I do not know how, some Pretences found to keep up a numerous Army, even in Times of the most profound Peace; so that we seem now to be so firmly saddled with it, that I am afraid few Gentlemen will live to see our present Army, or any Part of them, reduced. Before the Revolution, those Armies, by which we always

so bravely defended ourselves, which made us a Terror to our Enemies, were raised from among the People, upon the Approach of Danger; and as soon as that Danger was over, the Army was dismissed, and the Soldiers returned to their usual Labour and Industry; in those Days our Military Force did not entirely depend upon our Kings; the King, indeed, had the chief Command, but most of the other Commanders were such as were chosen by their respective Counties, or such as held their Commands by their Tenures, and could not be removed, without being legally found guilty of a Crime, no more than they could have been removed from their Free-holds: therefore when Gentlemen talk of the Prerogative of the Crown, which they say is to be invaded by this Proposition, they must be understood to mean, only that Prerogative, which has grown up since the Revolution.

The Prerogative has always been a very growing Part of our Constitution, and for this Reason our Ancestors have often been obliged to clip and pare it, otherwise all the Liberties and Privileges of the People would long ago have been swallowed up by it; and I believe it will be granted, that the Prerogative, even within these last 30 or 40 Years, has grown pretty considerably; I believe every Gentleman will admit, that the Power of the Crown is now infinitely greater than it was for some Years after the Revolution; and I wish these Gentlemen, who now seem so tender of invading what they call the Prerogative, would on other Occasions, appear as tender of invading the Liberties of the People; this, Sir, is what ought to be the principal Care of every Member of this House; the Crown stands in no Need of any Advocates here, because, by our Constitution, the Crown may put a Stop to any Encroachment upon the Prerogative, when the Encroachment is such as may not be thought necessary for the Preservation of the Liberties of the People.

The Gentleman talked, Sir, of Innovations and Alterations in our Constitution, as of something new and terrible; I do not know what he may mean by Innovations and Alterations, but I am sure our Constitution has seasonably met with many Amendments: Do not we know, that formerly the Crown not only named, but could remove the Judges, at Pleasure; and this arbitrary Power of Removing, with respect to the Judges, was formerly a Part of the Prerogative; but as great Inconveniences were felt from the Use that had been made of this Power, it was taken from the Crown, and the Judges, when once named by the Crown, were by Law made Judges for Life; this Law, when first made, was certainly intended to make them Judges for their own Lives; but even this Part of the Prerogative has begun again to grow; and the Judges themselves have been

prevalled on to find out I do not know what Quirks and Evasions, whereby they seem now to have fixed their Right for the Life of another Person only; however, even as it stands now, the Prerogative has thereby been diminished, and whether this was to be called an Invasion, an Innovation, or an Alteration, I do not know, but I am sure, it was a very necessary Amendment, which has produced no Inconvenience, nor any way injured our Constitution; and why doing the same Thing, with respect to the Officers of the Army, should give such a terrible Alarm to some Gentlemen, as if our Constitution was thereby to be sapped and undermined, I cannot comprehend.

I will agree with the Hon. Gentleman in this, Sir, that our Constitution, in the general, is as good, if not better than that of any of our neighbouring Countries, yet in some Particulars some of them may have the Advantage of us, and in these we ought not to be ashamed to take Example from them, and from thence endeavour to improve and rectify our own; for political Constitutions, even of the best Sort, are like the Constitutions of human Bodies, they are apt to languish and decay, and often stand in need of Restoratives; even our own Constitution, good as it is, wants every now and then to be polished and restored to its primitive Lustre, and particularly that growing Part, the Prerogative, ought sometimes to have its cumbersome Branches lopped off, otherwise it may become too heavy for the principal Stock: This is what our Ancestors have often done, and this is what, I think, Sir, we may, in the present Case, do, without the least Danger.

The Hon. Gentleman took Notice of the Tryals by Court-martials, and said, there were many Things an Officer might be guilty of, for which he ought to be removed, and which, nevertheless, could not be properly tried, or, at least, not fully proved before a Court-martial; and he mentioned the Case of Disaffection: I cannot grant, Sir, that this Case can often happen, but allowing, that it might, it is fully provided against by the Motion which the noble Lord hath made: Does not the Parliament sit every Year? and, in Case of an Officer's being notoriously disaffected, is it to be doubted, but that the Parliament would address his Majesty to remove him? And there could be no Danger from the Delay, because his Majesty could, in the mean Time, suspend him, or even lay him under an Arrest, if it should be thought necessary.

C——— I B--d--n. I can by no Means, Sir, give my Assent to the Proposition now before us, as it tends to the taking from the Crown a Prerogative which, not only by our Constitution, belongs to it, but has, by express Acts of Parliament been declared to be

solely in the Crown, for a Proof of which, I shall only desire the two Militia-Acts passed in the 13th and 14th of King Charles II. to be read: (*These Acts being read, he proceeded as follows.*) Whatever Gentlemen may say, Sir, about our antient Constitution, it appears, by these Acts, that the Sense of Parliament then was, that the supreme Government of the Militia, and of all Forces by Sea and Land then was, and ever was the King's undoubted Right; and that the King might, at Pleasure, commissionate or displace the Officers of the Militia; and therefore I must think, that if ever our Military Force was under any other Regulation, it was either not according to our Constitution, or was found to be so inconvenient, that it was soon altered: Gentlemen may, indeed, say, that these Acts concern only the Militia; but as our Militia was found to be of little or no Use after our Neighbours began all to keep up regular Standing Armies, therefore we were obliged to substitute in its Place, a regular Standing Army, and, consequently, the same Power over that Standing Army, and the Officers of that Army, must be supposed to be vested, by these Acts, in the King, as he is thereby declared to have had over the Militia and the Officers of it; and now to attempt to take away that Prerogative, when no wrong Use has lately been made of it, appears to me very extraordinary.

I have heard, Sir, that some Gentlemen are so much out of Humour with our present Government, and so tired of our present happy Establishment, that they would do almost any Thing to get rid of it; they would, for that End, even agree to the making a thorough Change in our Constitution, by forming it into a Common-wealth; I could never, indeed, believe, there was any Truth in these Reports, or that there could be such a Madman in this Nation: But should this Motion take Place, if I could believe Gentlemen were really serious in it, I would no longer look on such Reports as chimerical; for I never heard of any Motion which tended so directly towards a Common-wealth, as the present does, except some of those famous Motions made in the Years 40 and 41; and I am persuaded, if this Motion should take Place, it would produce the same Consequences.

What! to create an Army for I see, an Army independent of the King! sure Gentlemen are not in earnest, or they must have forgot the Confusions, which were formerly produced by such an Army. I thank God, Sir, I am none of those who are tired of our present happy Establishment: I think we enjoy our Liberties in their full Extent, and I shall never give my Consent to a Proposition, which would put it out of the King's Power to remove any, even of those Officers who are appointed to guard his Royal Person, without the Consent of the other Officers: It

would be a difficult Matter to prevail with a Court-martial to punish or break an Officer, perhaps, for a Crime which every one of that Court-martial was himself guilty of. If the Gentlemen of the Army should once be made to depend only on one another, they would soon be sensible of their own Power, and we do not know what Use they might be tempted to make of it. In short, Sir, the Proposition, in my Opinion, tends to nothing but Confusion, and therefore I am heartily against it.

Sir T——s R——f——n. Sir, I cannot help expressing my Surprize at a Proposition of this Nature; for tho' it has been talked of without-doors, for some Time past, yet I never could, till Yesterday, believe, it would actually have been introduced here; because it appears to me to be founded on a Supposition, that the same Number of Forces we now maintain is for ever to be entailed on our Posterity.

Had a Proposition of this Nature come hither from another Quarter, founded on the Perpetuity of the Army, it would have been thought highly unreasonable; and if a Regulation, thus founded, should pass this House, it may be made Use of hereafter as an Argument to continue the Army when there is no longer any Reason for it, and may be employed as a Means to interweave the civil with the military Power, and to make a military Establishment a Part of our Constitution.

As this Question has been stated, the Power of the King, and the Liberties of the People, seem to interfere, and therefore 'twill be very difficult to speak in Favour of the one, without being liable to be represented as having a Design to depress the other; but as the Excellency of our Constitution consists in preserving a just Temperament between the King, Lords, and Commons, and the right ballancing the Power allotted to each, we ought not to attempt to diminish the Power of either in any Instance, unless by the Exercise of Power in that particular Case it be found, that that Branch of our Legislature is armed with a Strength disproportionable to the other two; and therefore, before we take away from the Crown the Prerogative of displacing Officers, it ought first to be clearly demonstrated, that the Influence the King has at present over the Army, is greater than is necessary for the Security of his Person and Government, or than is consistent with the Liberties of the People.

The very Point now in Debate seems to be, whether the lopping off so great a Branch of Prerogative from the Crown, and transferring it to the Army, will not disarm the Crown of a Power necessary to keep the Army steady to our present Establishment; and whether by trusting it in the Hands of the Soldiers, we may not throw a greater Degree of in-

independent Strength into the Army itself, than it ought to have.

Upon this Occasion, I cannot help reminding Gentlemen, what fatal Consequences attended that Law made in the Year 1641, whereby it was put out of the Power of the King to dissolve or prorogue the Parliament without their own Consent; if breaking the Balance of any of the three Powers in the Legislature, if the two Houses assuming an Independency not lawfully invested in them by our Constitution, was attended with so many Evils, what may we not dread, should we see the Officers of an Army not removeable, but by their own Consent? The History of the last Century fully shews us, what various Scenes of Confusion succeeded the fatal Statute I have just mentioned, and every one's Thoughts may suggest to him, what must be the natural Consequence of this, should it succeed.

If Gentlemen will recollect a little the Roman History, they will find, that whenever military Governments of Provinces were given for Life, or for a certain Term of Years only, or even when the Army got the Privilege of choosing their own Officers, the sovereign Power came soon after to be lodged in the Army itself, and proved fatal to those very Persons who had acquiesced under these ill-judged Concessions; and I am afraid, if a Power should be given our Army, that no Officer shall be put out, but by the Judgment and Consent of the other Officers, the next natural Step for them to take will be, that none shall be put in or preferred, who have not their Recommendation; for Armies are of such a Nature, that they either must obey, or will soon command. Numberless Examples might be produc'd in Support of what I have said, both from ancient and modern History. But I shall not now enumerate Particulars, with which many other Gentlemen may be better acquainted than I am.

And that this has been the received Opinion of our Ancestors, since Monarchy was known in this Island, becomes evident by reflecting, that in all the Struggles they had with the Crown for Liberty; nay, even at the Time of the late Revolution, when every Thing was thought of by the Patriots of those Days, for lessening the royal Prerogative, so far as was judged necessary for, or consistent with the Preservation of our Constitution, I do not remember to have read or heard, that there was ever Mention made of any Project of this Nature; and it is certain, if such a Project had been in Force 50 Years ago, our Business in this House would now have been rather to have registered the Edicts prescribed to us by the Army, than to have debated any Thing that might affect a Body of Men made so formidable by their Independency.

I would ask the Gentlemen, who are for this Proposition, one plain Question, Whether

it be not absolutely necessary, that either the military Power must be dependent on the Civil, or the Civil on the Military? If from the Nature of Things one be necessary, the Option cannot be difficult. Surely, Gentlemen on this Occasion, do not recollect the Fate of their Predecessors in the Middle of the last Century, when the Parliament, by granting such Concessions to the Army, made the Army soon hold them in Contempt, who had thus made the military Power independent of the civil Magistrate; I say, I must take it for granted, that this Part of our History is entirely forgot, when I see a Question moved, tending to give the Army that Independency of the State, which has formerly made, and in Process of Time, must again make Parliaments useless; for I look upon Mankind in general as pretty near upon a Level in all Ages; very strong Temptations will too often get the better of the very best Intentions, and like Causes will always produce like Effects.

In my Opinion, Sir, the great Danger to be guarded against in all Armies is, any Step that tends to raise them to a State of Independency; and therefore by the Wisdom of the Legislature, our Army is so wisely constituted, as not only to be dependent on the annual Votes of this House for its Subsistence and Continuance, but also as to the Number it shall consist of; then as to the Nomination of the Officers, it has always been lodged in the Crown, as 'tis highly proper it should; they have always been left dependent on the King, whose Person they are obliged to defend, whose Government they are intended to support.

Thus is our Army necessarily dependent in a double Capacity; the Whole is dependent on this House, for its very Existence; but the Officers, while the Army exists, are to depend on the King for their Commissions, otherwise how could he depend on their Fidelity, should they be called forth to Action; for an Officer may be guilty of several Crimes which cannot be properly laid before a Court-martial, particularly Disaffection, of which, tho' there be Proof sufficient to make it indisputable, yet the Proof may be of such a Nature, as not to be proper to be laid before a Court-martial, or perhaps cannot be laid in such a Manner, as to make it have its just Weight with Officers sitting in Judgment on one of their own Fraternity.

Tho', therefore, in this Respect, our Army, as it receives its annual Support and Existence from the Parliament, may be call'd a State Army (a Denomination an Hon. Gentleman has much insisted on) yet, I think, his Conclusions from thence are very ill grounded; for a State Army, as such, does not in the least imply a Necessity of the Officers holding their Employments for Life; on the contrary, it seems necessary in all Armies,

mies, they should be subordinate to some other Power, that they may not defeat the Purpose for which they are maintained; for if they should be thus made dependent only on themselves, and independent of the three other Powers of the Legislature, it will, in my Opinion, be laying the Foundation of a 4th Power, a military one, which may, in Processes of Time, render useless the other three.

This leads me to consider, in whom the Advocates for this Question propose to lodge this Power, this important Branch of the Prerogative, which is to be lopp'd off from the Crown, if this military Scheme succeeds: As the Prerogative of the Crown is to be diminished, one would naturally imagine the Power of the People was intended to be increased; but this, Sir, is not to be the Case, it is to be transferred from the Crown, not to the People, but to the Army, and lodged solely with the Officers themselves, who, from that Moment, will be independent of the Crown, and in Time perhaps of all other Authority; for one of the great Restraints upon the Army is this very Prerogative the King has of displacing Officers who may be suspected of bad Intentions: Give this Privilege to the Officers themselves only, and what Security shall we then have for their future Behaviour: In short, we shall then have raised a Power in Support of the present Establishment, without having provided a Security against its attempting to overturn that very Establishment; for thus, by removing this necessary Check upon the Army, a distant Time may come, when the Nation, with Reason, may be jealous of an Army, in whose Hands we shall have put a Power sufficient to enable them to get the better both of King and Parliament, and to set up a new Constitution of their own; whereas, while the Army continues in the State it is at present, there is little Danger to be apprehended, even should it have the Rashness to attempt any Thing against either.

It has been urged by an Hon. Gentleman under the Gallery, that, as the Judges hold their Employments for Life, we ought to convey the same Privileges to the Officers of the Army: In my Opinion, this is reasoning on a very wrong Foundation, for, I think, no just Parallel can be drawn betwixt civil and military Officers in general, but certainly there is the widest Difference between those who act in a judicial, and those who act in a military Capacity; for the same State of Independence necessary to leave the Judge unbiassed in pronouncing Judgment, would tend to disengage the Soldier from that Interest, to which he ought solely to be attached: A Judge should be left free and unbiassed, that he may speak what the Law speaks, and distribute Justice impartially; but the very Nature of the Army requires the strictest Subordination in the

Officers, without which, there can be no Discipline; the Soldier must be dependent, and must act in Subjection to the lawful Commands of those, by whom he is maintained; nor can any Qualification make Amends for his Failure in this Particular.

A There is besides a particular Circumstance, which makes it impossible to draw any just Parallel between the Judges and the Officers of the Army; the Judges not only determine between Subject and Subject, but are likewise to determine between the Crown and the People; if any Question arises between the King and a Subject, they are to determine the Point in Dispute, and therefore it is necessary they should be made as independent as possible upon either of the Parties; but no such Power was ever yet lodged in the Officers of the Army, and it is to be hoped never will; for tho' I have so great an Opinion of the Gentlemen who are at present in the Service, that I think any Power may be safely lodged in their Hands, yet, I believe, they neither desire such a Power, nor would they consent to the giving of any such to their Successors.

C But, Sir, the Proposition now made to us would render the Officers of the Army still more independent, both upon our King and Government, than the Judges are at present: If a Judge be guilty of any Crime, or Neglect of Duty in the Execution of his Office, he is not to be tried by the other Judges only, he is to be try'd by a Jury, he is to have an open and a fair Tryal in *Westminster-hall*, as the rest of his Fellow-Subjects have; and if it were otherwise, if a Judge for any Misbehaviour, were to be try'd in a private Way by his Brother Judges only, I should think both our Lives, Liberties and Properties in greater Danger from them under such a Regulation, than if they were still dependent on the Crown for the Continuance of their Commissions; and it must be granted, that this last would be the Case of the Officers of the Army, if this Proposition should take Place; for they could be try'd by none, they could be punish'd by none but themselves, and consequently they would have no Dependence but upon one another; and without any Derogation to the Characters of those who are now so worthily at the Head of the Law, or to those who command in the Army, I believe every Person will allow, that the Fear of Punishment, and the Hopes of Reward, are equally necessary to keep most Men to their Duty, and of Course to make them useful to Society.

F As another Reason in Support of this Proposition, an Hon. Gentleman has recommended the Wisdom of the *Swedes* to our Imitation, who, he says, have introduced this very Regulation in their Army; but this is so very late a Practice among them, that they cannot yet be proper Judges, how far 'twill answer

swer the Purpose for which 'twas introduced.

To be sure, Sir, 'tis very commendable in those who have spoke for this Question; nay, it is the Duty every Man owes to his Country, to observe the Methods of Government used in other States, and adopt that which is founded on Wisdom and true Policy into our own; but in all Attempts of this Kind, a strict Regard is to be had to the particular Turn of our own Constitution; for what may be a necessary Step in one State, may prove the Destruction of another; and therefore, the bare Example of the *Swedes* ought not to influence us to take so extraordinary a Resolution, unless the Nature of our own Constitution would justify it: If Gentlemen reason only from the Example of the *Swedes*, they may with the same Justice plead for a farther Introduction of their Laws; and as all foreign Affairs are transacted by their Senate, they may on the same Account expect, that the Management of all our foreign Negotiations ought to be submitted solely to the Direction of this House; they may likewise pretend to transplant other Customs prevalent in the Senate of *Sweden*, into our Parliament, which would quite alter the present Form of our Constitution, and introduce a new Species of Government into this Kingdom; for a King of *Sweden* has now hardly the Power of a Stadtholder of *Holland*, especially with Respect to the Officers of the Army; none of whom he can even create or promote, without the Consent of the Senate; their Government at present is indeed little more than a Commonwealth, so that few Things can be drawn from their Practice, as an Example fit for us to follow.

Before I conclude, Sir, give me Leave to remind Gentlemen, that our Histories sufficiently teach us this Truth, that our Liberties and Constitution are never in greater Danger, than when any one of the Branches of our Legislature grasps at any Power, which hath, by the Wisdom of our Ancestors, been appropriated to another; and therefore an unwarrantable Attack upon the Prerogative of the Crown, which may, indeed, be intended to extend the Liberties of the People, is in Reality the readiest Way to bring them into Danger. I believe every impartial Person will acknowledge, that in our present happy Situation, we enjoy as much Liberty as is consistent with that Subjection which is necessary for the Support of all Governments; and the surest Way to continue this particular Blessing to ourselves, and to perpetuate it to our Posterity, is to rest satisfied with what we enjoy, and not hazard what we already have, by aiming to extend the Liberties of the People to a Degree perhaps we ourselves may be the first Persons shall be sensible of the Inconvenience of: All Experiments therefore of reforming the Constitution must be hazard-

ous, unless where the Event is clear and undisputed: Tampering with the Laws, where our Liberties are concerned, hath often proved of dangerous Consequence; and whenever we come to new-modelling the Constitution in any essential Point, unless where an apparent Necessity requires it, 'tis impossible to tell how far the Spirit of Reformation will proceed.

I beg Pardon for taking up so much of your Time: As I once had the Honour to be in the Service, and under a Gentleman whose good Nature and Affability must ever demand the Esteem of all that know him, and who is as little desirous of grasping at unreasonable Power, as he is capable of misapplying that he is already trusted with, I flatter myself, that during the Time I was under his Command, I learnt a little what the Nature of an Army is; and had I still been in the Service, so far from retiring upon this Question, as has been recommended to those now in the Service, if Gentlemen should divide upon it, which I shall not believe they intend, till I see it done, I say, had I still been in the Service, I should have been equally strenuous against the Question; as it has always been my Opinion, that the surest Way to depend on any Set of Men for their acting right, is not to give them an unnecessary Power or Temptation of doing wrong.

For these Reasons I think myself obliged to use my Endeavours, that neither this, nor any other Proposition of the like Nature, however popular they may appear, shall ever meet with Encouragement from this House.

T---s W---nn---t---n, Esq; I cannot, Sir, let this Question go without declaring my Abhorrence to the Motion made to us: I really think it the most monstrous Motion I ever heard since I had the Honour to sit in Parliament. Gentlemen say, Sir, an Army is no Part of our Constitution, but if the Proposition they have made should take Place, the Whole of our Constitution would soon be at the Mercy of our Army. At present, Sir, the Officers depend on the King for their Commissions, and the Army itself upon Parliament for its Continuance, and its Pay; but if you should once make the Officers independent of the Crown, and give them a Sort of Freehold in their Commissions, they would soon make both King and Parliament depend upon them. If both King and Parliament should think it proper to make a Reduction of any Part of your Army, do you imagine that those Gentlemen with their Swords in their Hands, would quietly lay them down, and retire to their respective Homes at our Desire? No, Sir, they would then tell you, our Commissions are for Life, they are our Freehold, a Law of your own has made them so, and you shall not take them from us, unless we have been guilty of a Crime; if

if we have, let a Court-martial be called, let us be tried in that Way which is by Law prescribed, and if we be found guilty, we'll submit. This, Sir, we may reasonably suppose, would be the Language of those you had a Mind to reduce; and in such a Case Gentlemen may easily guess what Redress the Nation could expect from a Court-martial.

The Liberties of *Rome*, Sir, were never destroyed till their Army was made an Army for Life; and even this Country lost its Liberty by an Army: As soon as an Army was raised and made independent of the sovereign Power, they overturned the Whole of our Constitution, they pulled a Predecessor of yours out of the Chair, and kicked the Members out of Doors; and shall we, Sir, establish such another Army? The Proposition is surprising. I would rather lie under any Imputation, than that of having made such a one to this House: I am sure it is very far from appearing to the noble Lord, who made it, in the same Light it does to me: I have, I think, a just Opinion of it; but if he had judged so, I am convinced he would never have offered it. However, since the Proposition has been made, and as every Gentleman is at Liberty to treat any Proposition according to that Light in which it appears to him, I must say, that I look on the Motion as monstrous, absurd, and slavish, and therefore I am heartily against it. If I have spoke with too much Warmth, I beg Pardon, Sir: I hope it will be ascribed to my Zeal for our Constitution, and the present happy Establishment, and not to any Want of Respect for the Gentlemen who seem to favour a Proposition, which appears to me in a Light so very different from that in which, I believe, it appears to them.

Sir *J—n H—pe B—ce*, Member for *K—fs*, &c. in *Scotland*. The Hon. Gentleman over the Way, Sir, has spoke with a great deal more Warmth than Decency, and has treated the Soldiery, both antient and modern, in a Manner which I think both scandalous and unjust. He spoke of the *Roman* Liberty, and pretended, the Loss of it was owing to their Army's being made an Army for Life: I can remember nothing, Sir, of an Army for Life at *Rome*: Or that they ever had any such Regulation in their Armies, even as this now proposed, which is very far from establishing an Army for Life: On the contrary, if they had had any such Regulation, I believe it would not have been in the Power of their Generals, or Emperors, to have modelled and garbled their Armies so as to make them serve their vile Purposes; and if the Gentleman will read over the *Roman* History, with Attention, he will find, that the Loss of the *Roman* Liberty was, at first, more owing to Bribery and Corruption in their Elections, and in their Senate, than to their Army: It was by this Bribery and Corrup-

tion that all publick Virtue was destroyed in that Country, and when the Virtue of the Army, as well as the People, was destroyed, it became an easy Matter to make Tools of both, for the Support of arbitrary Power.

I have had the Honour to serve in our own Army, I have, likewise, Sir, served in foreign Armies, and I think I know a little of the Nature of both: From thence it is that I judge, that no Army will allow themselves to be turned against the Liberties of their Country, unless it be left in the Power of some ambitious Man to model them, so as to make them fit for his own wicked Purposes: It was this that made our Army in the last Century turn against the Parliament, which had raised them, and the Army will always be dangerous, as long as any such Power is lodged in any one Man. I have the Honour, Sir, to be acquainted with many of the General Officers, as well as other Officers, in our own Army at present; I know their Merit, and I shall never fear any Thing from an Army under their Command; but if what has been once attempted should ever be attempted again, if our Army should be garbled, the Gentlemen now in Command turned out, and Fellows of mean Birth, or perhaps foreign Officers, put into their Places, we would have every Thing to fear from such an Army, even tho' the Generality of the common Soldiers should continue to be made up of our own Countrymen: And on this Occasion I cannot but take Notice, Sir, of what I read t'other Day in a very judicious Author, who upon this very Subject says, that any Minister who advises the King to dismiss a good Officer, who has long and faithfully served his King and Country, is guilty of the greatest and blackest Act of Treason against his Prince; and therefore, Sir, to prevent as much as possible the Committing of any such Treason in Time to come, I shall be for agreeing to the Proposition.

H—gb W—ms, Member for *A—ea*, spoke next against the Motion; and after him,

G—l W—de. The Gentlemen of the Army are certainly very much obliged to the noble Lord who made this Proposition, and I doubt not but every one of us would be for it, if we thought it consistent with the Good of our Country; for as it is natural for all Men to desire to be independent, it is not to be doubted, but that the Officers of the Army desire it as much as any other Set of Men; but whether it may not be dangerous to make so great an Alteration in our Constitution, is what principally weighs with me; and for my own Part, I shall always give up any private Advantage I may expect, rather than agree to any Measure which may in the least endanger or hurt the Constitution, or the publick Interest of my Country.

Since

Since I have had the Honour, Sir, to sit in this House, I have always acted with the same Freedom, as if I had had no Commission, nor any Concern in the Army; and tho' I have generally joined in Opinion with those who were in the Administration, yet I have likewise on many Occasions differed from them. I remember when the famous *South-Sea* Scheme was in Agitation in this House, tho' it was brought in by a Minister, and strongly supported by those who were then at the Head of the Administration, yet I had the Honour to be one of the 55 who divided against it. It is true, Sir, I had on that Occasion Messages sent to me, and was threatened to be stripped of all my military Employments; but those Threats had no Weight with me, nor shall such Threats ever have any Weight with me in any Case where they come in Competition with my Duty as a Member of this House, as an Officer of the Army, or as a Subject of *Great Britain*; and, I hope, this is the Resolution of every Man who has the Honour to bear a Commission in the Army.

Gentlemen talk of Courts-Martial, and of his Majesty's having the Power to name the Officers who are to be upon them: His Majesty has indeed the Power of granting Warrants for the holding of Courts-Martial, as often, and in such Places as he shall please to appoint; I have myself a Warrant for holding Courts-Martial in *North Britain*, where I have the Honour at present to command; but I never did, nor does his Majesty ever name the Officers to be upon such Courts-Martial; that Service being performed by a Roll, as other Parts of Duty are, and I have often very great Difficulty to get a sufficient Number of Officers for holding those Courts-Martial; for sometimes 6 or 7 Captains, besides Subalterns, will be absent at one Time, and it is hardly possible now, in Time of Peace, to get them to attend their Duty, notwithstanding the great Power the Crown has over them; since then they are at present so negligent of their Duty, would they not be much more so, if they could not be dismissed for Neglect of Duty, but by a Sentence of a Court-Martial? If any of those Officers should be brought to be tried for Neglect of Duty, by a Court-Martial, the Majority of which might perhaps consist of Officers who had themselves been guilty of the same, can Gentlemen imagine, that in such a Case, any Officer would be broke, or any Way punished by a Sentence of that Court-Martial?

In short, Sir, the Discipline of our Army is already in a very bad way, and I am afraid, if this Proposition should take Place, it would be entirely destroyed; for if it should pass into a Law, it would not only take away all Dependency upon the Crown, but it would destroy that Subordination of inferior Officers

to their Superiors, which is absolutely necessary in all Armies; and without which, an Army would soon become an unruly Mob, instead of a regular and well-disciplined Army; therefore, Sir, I cannot but be against the Proposition.

G——es E——le, Esq; As this Proposition must tend to the establishing any Army with too great and too independent a Power, A I must think it extremely improper; and I must think that the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last has very justly observed, that it would destroy all Discipline, and would, I believe, introduce a general Licentiousness among the Officers; for there are many Irregularities an Officer may be guilty of, which could not well be brought before a Court-Martial, and if they were, the Irregularity might be so general, that it would be hard to get such a Court-Martial as would punish the Officer for a Crime which perhaps every one of themselves might be guilty of.

It is well known how many Complaints there are already, both against Officers and Soldiers, for Irregularities committed in their Quarters; even with all the Power his Majesty now has over the Army, it is very hard for those to whom he entrusts the chief Care and Management of it, to keep the Officers and Soldiers to their Duty, and to prevent their being now and then guilty of some little Acts of Oppression in their Quarters; but if this Proposition should pass into a Law, it would render the quartering of Soldiers most grievous to the People; one Officer would say, I have made my Quarters good, as they call it, another would do the same; this would encourage a Third, a Fourth, and so on, till the Practice became general; and if they were to be tried and punished for this only by a Court-Martial, can Gentlemen imagine they would not acquit one another?

'Tis true, Sir, Officers may be removed, and have been removed without being guilty of any Crime; I was myself once removed, when I am sure they could not lay any Crime to my Charge; I was then sorry for it, but I was not for carrying my Repentment so far as to turn every Thing topsy turvy; yet there was at that Time more Ground for such a Proposition than at present; there has lately been no garbling or removing of any considerable Number of Officers, and therefore I cannot find out what could give Occasion for this Motion at this Time. Was not the great Duke of *Marlborough*, in the Midst of his glorious Success, removed from all Command in the Army? I believe no Man will accuse him of having ever been guilty of a Crime, or even of a Neglect of Duty. Was not the Man who was put in his Place justly suspected of having Designs against the present happy Establishment? nay, so justly was he suspected

suspected, that when the late King came over, he durst not stand his Tryal, but took Guilt upon himself, and fled from the Justice of the Nation: Yet on that Occasion there was no such Proposition as this made in Parliament.

I cannot, with the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, think, that the Officers are much obliged to those Gentlemen who appear in Favour of this Proposition; on the contrary, I think, it is entertaining a very bad Opinion at least of those Officers, who sit in this House, to imagine, that they do not act with the same Integrity and Freedom that other Gentlemen do; I am sure I should not think, that any Man entertained a good Opinion of me, if he thought I could be induced, either by Threats or Rewards, to act contrary to my Duty in this House.

There is not the least Ground, Sir, for suspecting any such Thing of any Gentleman of the Army who sits in this House; and therefore I am not only against the Motion, but I hope it will be treated in such a Manner as may prevent its being ever renewed.

W—m P—ney, Esq; I cannot but observe, Sir, the unhandsome Manner in which some Gentlemen have treated the Motion now in your Hand, and the hard Names they have given it, such as monstrous, absurd, slavish, and the like; I am sure, Sir, neither the noble Lord who made the Motion, nor any of those Gentlemen who have spoke in Support of it, can from their Conduct in this House, or in any other Part of Life; from the Families they are come of, or the large Properties they possess, be the least suspected of entertaining any Notions of Slavery, or of making any Motion for destroying any Part, far less for undermining the whole of our Constitution: I will avoid retorting those Names, or saying any Thing that may give Offence, tho' I am sure I may do it with far more Justice upon those Gentlemen, who have taken that Liberty with others.

The Hon. Gentleman behind me spoke of Officers making their Quarters good, which is a military Term I really do not understand, but I suppose it is doing something they ought not to do, and yet something, as that Gentleman seemed to insinuate, which they are so apt to do, that there is no preventing it without keeping them in a slavish Sort of Dependency: He told us he was himself once removed, and that he was very sorry for it; he was, 'tis true, once removed, and that he was sorry for it is, I believe, what no body will doubt of; but I hope it was not for making his Quarters good, for tho' the Gentleman likes good Quarters, and knows as well when he is in such as any Man, yet I am convinced, he is incapable of doing any Thing wrong, either for obtaining Quarters, or making them good: He likewise told us of the D. of Marlborough's

having been removed; I believe no Man will say it was a right Step to remove that great General, but it has no Relation to the Question before us; because, if I understood the noble Lord's Motion right, the Power of removing Generals from their Command as Generals is to remain in the Crown, as much unlimited as ever it was before; and it must be granted, that the Removal of that great Man, and the many other Removals that followed, if they have any Relation to the present Question, are strong Arguments in its Favour; for, I believe, every Man who wished well to the Constitution, would have wished that such a Law had been in being at that Time; and indeed all the other Arguments I have heard against the Proposition, are much stronger Arguments for it than they are against it.

Gentlemen talk, Sir, of invading the Prerogative, as if it were a most heinous Thing, to lessen, in any Respect, what they call the Prerogative; but this has been already answered by a worthy Gentleman over the Way; he justly said, that the Prerogative has been growing ever since the Revolution, and it is certain that it is daily gaining Ground both in this House and the other. The Power of the Crown is what every Member of this House, as well as the other, ought always to be jealous of; for what by Creations and Translations, it may, at last, grow so great as entirely to over-turn that Balance on which our Constitution depends: And it is well known, that the Prerogative now in Dispute, is of a very short Standing; even the Prerogative as to the Militia has been assumed but of late Years; and tho' the Power of the King, as to the Militia, be very fully and explicitly declared in the two Acts an Hon. Gentleman read to us, yet I hope, that neither he nor his Friends will recommend all the Proceedings of the Parliament, in which those Acts were passed, as proper Patterns for us to imitate, nor will he desire, that we should now approve of every Thing that was done at that Time in Parliament: Besides, Sir, there is a very great Difference between the Officers of a Standing Army, and those of the Militia; the first is both an honourable and a beneficial Employment, the last is become of late Years not very honourable, and I am sure it cannot by Law be made a beneficial Employment; so that the arbitrary Disposal of Commissions in the Army, may be of much more fatal Consequence, than the arbitrary Disposal of Commissions in the Militia.

Gentlemen, Sir, have asked us, Will you make the Officers of the Army independent? Will you give them their Commissions in the Nature of a Freehold? No, Sir, by the Proposition now made to us, they are to depend upon King and Parliament as much as ever they did before upon the King singly: His Majesty

Majesty is still to have the Power of preferring them; and his Majesty, with the Assistance of either House of Parliament, is still to have the Power of removing any one, or any Number of them, without any Reason or Cause assigned: This is very far from making them independent: But suppose they were to be made independent both of King and Parliament, has the Parliament and People, supported by the King, more to dread from such an Army, than the Parliament and People have to dread from an ambitious King, supported by an Army which, by this Power of removing and preferring, he has made entirely dependent on himself alone? An Officer who depends upon nothing but the Laws of his Country, is engaged in Interest, as well as Honour, to support those Laws, as the Tenure by which he holds his Commission; but an Officer who depends entirely upon the absolute Will of one Man, be he King, or be he Chief-general, is a Tenant at Will, and is in Interest, at least, engaged to submit to the Will of his Lord in every Thing: It was this that made the Army so pernicious about the Middle of the last Century, they had become entirely dependent upon their General, and then their General made what Use of them he had a Mind; and it was a Neglect of this Maxim which saved our Constitution towards the End of the same Century, because our King then began to break thro' the Constitution, before he had taken Care to make the Army entirely dependent on himself alone: If that King had taken Care of the last before he had attempted the first, the Nation would now have been groaning under Popery, Slavery, and arbitrary Power; it was a most remarkable Providence, a most remarkable Fatality in the Counsels of our Oppressors, that saved the Nation at that Time; but if we do not by our own Wisdom and our own Conduct prevent it for the future, I must say, we deserve the most heavy Chains that were ever laid upon any People.

It is not intended, Sir, by the Proposition, to give the Officers a Freehold in their Commissions, but if it were, can it be said, it would be unjust? Have not many of them purchased their Commissions at a very high Price? Perhaps with the Whole of what they had in the World; and would it not be the Height of Injustice, that such Gentlemen should be turned a-drift, at the Pleasure of a Minister of State? Have not many of them bought their Commissions by long Services, by much Blood, and many Wounds? Is not this a Purchase much more honourable, than that of giving a few Guineas for a Piece of Land? And must the Officer be turned out of his only Subsistence to please a peevish Minister, whilst the Land-Purchaser, who perhaps robbed his Country in order to purchase that Land, is protected by the Laws in the

Possession of his ill-gotten Purchase? Is this Justice, Sir? Or is it a shewing due Respect to those who have boldly and faithfully served their Country? But there is this further Hardship, Sir, the Officer who is turned out, not only loses his Bread, but his Honour may suffer into the Bargain; for if it is not very publickly known for what he was turned out, the malicious World may be apt to suspect, he was discarded for some very heinous and dishonourable Crime.

Some Gentlemen have already taken Notice, that there are a great many Officers of the Army who have now Seats in Parliament, and while they are allowed to sit in this, or in either House of Parliament, it is to be wished, that they were put upon the same independent Footing with other Gentlemen: I do not in the least suspect the Virtue of those who at present sit in either House: Their Virtue is, I find, what those who oppose the Question would gladly lug into the Debate; but as neither their Virtue nor Honour has any Thing to do in the Question, I may freely say, that when Gentlemen either now or hereafter have their Whole at Stake, and see by the Example of others the Danger of contradicting an insolent Minister in any the most wicked of his Measures, it is putting their Virtue to too great a Tryal, it is more than human Frailty can well support; and I am sure he must be very little acquainted with the Nature of Mankind, who thinks that the Constitution, and the Happiness of his Country, may safely depend on the Event of such a Tryal.

The Hon. Gentleman over the Way, who is in the Army, and who, I am sure, has acted with as much Honour in this House as any Gentleman in it, has given us one of the most unanswerable Arguments that the Art of Man could invent, in Favour of the Proposition now before us: He has told us, that when he opposed a Scheme which he thought a most pernicious one, and which afterwards most effectually proved so, he was sent to, and threatened with the Loss of all his Employments in the Army, because that Scheme was brought in and supported by a Minister: He had, 'tis true, Virtue to withstand those Threats, but it cannot be supposed that every Man has the same Virtue; and what he has now told us is an evident Demonstration, that this pretended Prerogative of removing Officers, at Pleasure, may by a Minister be made use of to obtain the Approbation of Parliament to the most destructive Schemes he can invent.

We know, Sir, that the late King William was once applied to by some of the Ministers, to remove an Officer of his Army, because of a Vote he had given in this House: But that Prince, like a great and a wise King, answered, I suppose the Gentleman voted according to what appeared just and right to him at

the Time; I know him to be a brave and a good Officer, and one who has always done his Duty in his military Capacity; I have nothing to do with his Behaviour in Parliament, and therefore I will not remove him. His late Majesty was so sensible of the Necessity of what is now proposed, that he approved of a Bill of this very Nature; the Bill was actually drawn up, and was to have been brought into the other House by the late Earl of Stanhope: This I know to be true, I do not know how it was prevented, but I know that his late Majesty cheerfully gave his Consent for the bringing it into Parliament.

The Hon. Gentleman who spoke last said, that those who are for the present Question used the Officers ill, but I leave it to the impartial World, I leave it to the Officers themselves, to judge, which Side uses them worst: Those who say they ought to be secured against the Resentment of a tyrannical Minister, or those who tell us, you are to expect no Justice from Officers sitting in a Court-Martial, notwithstanding their being sworn to do the same Justice, and to try with the same Impartiality, that Judges and

Juries ought, and are supposed to do: You are not to trust to Officers, they will certainly combine together, and destroy your Constitution; there is nothing can keep them honest or faithful to their Country, but keeping them in a slavish Dependence upon the Crown. Has not this, Sir, been the whole Language of those who have hitherto opposed this Question? and I do not doubt but the Officers of the Army will judge of the Argument as they ought to do.

I have spoke, Sir, much earlier in this Debate than I intended, and I must say, that I had but very little Room from any Thing that has been said against the Proposition, to have taken up so much of your Time; but I find some Gentlemen do not incline to speak to the Question; however, if they do not, if no better Reasons be given against it, than what have been already given, I am persuaded the Fate of the Question must be very different from what they expect.

[The Rest of this Debate, and the other Proceedings in Parliament to be continued, in our Next.]

A View of the Weekly ESSAYS and DISPUTES in this Month.

Craftsman, July 6. N^o 418.

Farther Remarks on the late Elections, and the Sense of the People. (See p. 310.)

WHENEVER the *Court-Writers* are defeated in an Argument, they resort to the *secular Arm*; and, having fous'd themselves over Head and Ears in Absurdities, they call upon their *Patron* to defend them. This is a very odd Way of deciding Controversies, and was intirely unknown to the antient Logicians. I can compare it to nothing but a Man's challenging out another to fight him, and taking Care to have a Friend behind an Hedge with a Blunderbuss in his Hand, to secure him against all Events.

We have an Example of this now before our Eyes; for these *modest Scribes* having begun to triumph on their Success in the late *Elections*, and asserted very dogmatically that the *Sense of the People* had declared itself on their Side; we thought it incumbent on us (says *D'Anvers*) to examine that Matter; and have, I think, proved the contrary. Nay, our Arguments have had so much Force on these *Gentlemen* themselves, that they are manifestly sick of the Enquiry, and endeavour to get rid of it, by roaring out again for *Prosecutions*. But we shall pursue our Design, in Contempt of all such mean Arts, and compleat the Explanation of a Subject, which is of

the utmost Importance to the whole Nation at this Time.

I shall not however throw away any Remarks on that numerous Fry of Scribblers, who are quartered in most of the common Papers; and are very scurrilous for no other Reason than because they find themselves beneath our Notice. Let them rail on, without Interruption; for I fly at a much nobler Game, and have the Honour to be engaged, at present, with two famous Champions in the same Cause, who are not only in the Pay, but the Confidence of their *Patron*. Every Body will perceive that I mean the learned *Madam Osborne*, and the polite *Francis Walsingham*, Esq; This illustrious Pair of Writers, to whom I shall always pay the greatest Defe-
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I have observed, indeed, that all

all our great Men are grown very tender and touchy of late. Perhaps, something may gall them more than ordinary. If so, I can only pity them, and promise that whenever I find myself obliged to differ from them in Sentiments, I shall do it in such a Manner as becomes a private Man towards his Superiors.

This must be my Apology for the following Remarks on the two great Writers. I shall therefore proceed to the Point; and, for the Sake of good Manners, will begin with the Lady.

When this Dispute was first started, the Question was, on which Side the Sense of the People had declared itself at the late Elections; that is, for the Court, or the Country Party. Mrs. Osborne and her Confederates ascribed it to the former, from a Computation of the Returns; which would have been proper enough, if the Point in Debate had turn'd upon the Majority within Doors; but it is very little to the Purpose in our present Dispute, concerning the Sense of the People without. To set this Affair in a clear Light, I made a Distinction between the Members for little Boroughs, and the Knights of the Shires; for tho' our Constitution hath given the former as good a Right to sit in Parliament as the latter, it does not follow that they are equally Representatives of the People; or, to speak more exactly, the Sense of the People cannot be so truly collected from the Persons, whom they chuse. Will any Man, for Instance, pretend to affirm that we may form as good a Judgment of the Sense of the People of Wiltshire, from the Choice of Members for Old Sarum, and several other Boroughs in that County, as from the Election of Knights of the Shire? The same Question may be asked, with Respect to most other Counties, which abound with little Boroughs; especially on the Sea-Coasts. Mrs. Osborne therefore had nothing to do, in this Case, but to abuse the Freeholders of England in a Lump; which she hath done very liberally, as well as the Country Gentlemen and Clergymen, with but very little Discrimination; for she compliments the first with the Appellation of gaping, Country-Fellows, who are almost as ignorant of all political Knowledge as the Beasts they ride on; nor are their several Leaders, says she, very much above them. In another Place, they are called the Mob, with oaken Boughs in their Hats, and no Ideas in their Heads; and just afterwards they are called a Parcel of ignorant Fellows, drunk with Sounds, Brandy, and old Beer.—What a fine Character hath our Authoress here drawn of the Country Gentlemen, Clergymen, and British Freeholders; and how exactly doth it agree with the late pathetick Addresses to them, from the same Quarter, in Favour of the Salt-Tax and the Excise? But of all these candid Reflections on the Freeholders, I wonder how Mrs. Osborne came to think of

charging them with Want of Ideas; since she cannot forget that a certain old Gentlewoman of her Acquaintance lies under the same Imputation herself; and that her whole Stock of Ideas never amounted to above the Number Fifteen; (Vol. II. p. 8.) tho' she hath had the Advantage of enlightening her Mind in this learned Town, for several Years, and improving her natural Understanding by Reading and general Conversation; which have render'd her, according to her own modest Account, so agreeable a Companion. (See Vol. I. p. 70 B.)

Having thus proved the Incapacity of all People in the Country to judge of Politicks, she draws the following Inference. 'Tis no Wonder therefore that the gaping Country Fellows, whose Minds are a meer Blank, or absolute Void, should greedily swallow all the political Scandal, retail'd to them by their Jacobite Leaders from the Craftsman and other Papers.— This is an home Thrust upon us, and hardly to be parry'd. I shall only observe that since Mrs. Osborne hath discovered such an absolute Vacuum in all rural Minds, it seems very astonishing that they should not be as susceptible of those wholesome Doctrines, which are so regularly convey'd to them by ministerial Authority, as of the political Scandal retail'd to them in the Craftsman and other Papers.— But to proceed;

If the Sense of the People is to be determin'd only by Men of Sense, according to Mrs. Osborne's identical Way of Reasoning, I am afraid this will occasion new Disputes; for tho' every Man is apt to be wise in his own Conceit, very few are so in the Opinion of others; so that I cannot see how this Point can be decided, without a general Scrutiny into the Intellects of the Nation; which would, I dare say, take up more Time than even the Yorkshire Scrutiny itself, and perhaps leave us in the Dark at last.

Our good Mother, indeed, hath pointed out a Method, which would soon put an End to this Dispute, and may be properly called a short Way with the Malecontents; for she hath not only excluded all the Bumkinly Country Gentlemen, Clergy and Freeholders out of her Commonwealth, but likewise all Papists, Jacobites, Tories, and Whigs run mad; that is, all Whigs, who have not the Grace to discover and applaud the excellent Conduct of her Patron; so that no Persons ought to determine the Sense of the People, but Placemen, Pensioners, Hoppers, and other Dependents, of what Kind soever, on Men in Power.

This is new Doctrine to me; for I always thought the Word People comprehended every Individual in the whole Kingdom, from the highest to the lowest; and tho' the Wisdom of the Legislature have thought fit to confine the Election of Parliament Men to the Freeholders, Citizens and Burgesses, for the Sake of

of Convenience and publick Quiet, I never apprehended that the rest of the Nation were excluded from all Concern about publick Affairs. There are Multitudes of People, who have large Properties in the *Funds*, or other *Securities*, which give them no Right to vote for any *County*, *City*, or *Borough*; but will Mrs. Osborne pretend to say that they have nothing to do in Matters of Government, or that their Sentiments ought not to be regarded? Q. Elizabeth's Minister was of another Opinion, if we may give Credit to the *Spectator*, who tells us, *that he had all Manner of Books and Ballads brought to him, and took great Notice how they were received by the People; upon which he would, and certainly very well might, judge of their present Dispositions, and the most proper Way of applying them according to his own Purposes.*

Mr. Rapin seems to be of the same Opinion with this *old-fashioned Minister*; for, in his Account of the Reign of Richard II. he makes the following Observation, which I verily believe he did not intend for a Libel on the present Times. *For some Time*, says he, *5 or 600 Persons, who composed the Parliament, and some Hundreds of Magistrates in the Towns and Counties may seem to make the Body of the Nation, and the Rest be reckoned as nothing; but the Time comes, when every single Person must be taken into the Account; and then the Number of those, who are in Places, is infinitely small, in Comparison of the rest of the Nation.*

Fog's Journal, July 6. N^o 296.

The following Epistle (says Fog) comes from my ingenious Friend and Correspondent Timothy Scrub of Rag-Fair, Esq; and is addressed to the worthy Electors of the little Cornish and Devonshire Boroughs, &c. and to all those who have been wise enough to make Money of their Votes in the late Elections.

Friends, Brethren, and Countrymen.

HAVING recovered from those enthusiastick Notions, which have long made me run counter to my Interest, (see p. 251.) tho' I acknowledge I have not the least Concern for any individual *Englishman* but myself, yet I cannot but congratulate ye upon your laudable and steady Contempt for Posterity, and your prudent Attachment to your present private Interest, which has been so visible in the late Elections, especially in the Boroughs. It is now with singular Pleasure, that I look upon the Disappointment of *Fog* and the *Craftsman*, who have vainly sweated for Years past, to introduce the romantick and stupid Principles of the Antients among us; but your good Sense has baffled all their Endeavours; and they have the Mortification

to find, that the Number of Converts to publick Spirit, is not equal to that, which Self-Interest has drawn off from Patriotism. But what Man of cool Reason does not perceive, that publick Spirit is the Effect of either Phrenzy or Vanity, or, which is the same Thing, egregious Folly? I allow the People have ever been lavish in their Encomiums on such Fools, who have been knocked on the Head, or have ruined their Fortunes for their Country's Service; but does not every Man of Sense perceive the Reason of this? could any Reward be cheaper? or could they take any Method more effectual to work on the Vanity of weak mistaken Men, and push them on to the most imminent Dangers for the Defence of these wordy Paymasters? It is plain that this Method of rewarding broken Bones, with *Wind*, had its desired Effects, and Numbers were foolish enough to prefer a popular Applause to a whole Skin, and the Character of having clean Hands to the Advantage of *Peculation*. Fog and the Craftsman have so mean an Opinion of you, O my Countrymen, as to imagine that the Examples of a *Regulus*, a *Scævola*, and other Madmen, might work you up to the Imitation of their Follies; but your Judgment is too strong, your Understanding too good, not to perceive that Vanity was the Foundation of this Heroism, ever attended with some Detriment, and very often with the Destruction of the Hero. What did *Regulus* get? Why, a Name: And what was he the better? Nothing. Whereas the Man, who instead of sacrificing himself for the Publick, makes a Sacrifice of his Country's Interest to his own, obtains a solid Good, and tho' some weak, and some disappointed Men may rail at him, it does not embitter the Pleasure, which Affluence and the Prospect of raising his Family hourly afford him. *Peculation*, like Virtue, is its own Reward; and History proves, that many noble Families, in France, Spain, &c. at this Day adorned with shining Titles, possessed of princely Fortunes, might have continued in Obscurity, had not the prudent *Peculation* of their Founders rescued them from Contempt. The Malice of their Opposers is bury'd with them, but the Advantage of their Prudence survives to their Families. Who now reproaches any of the Descendants or Relations of a *Richieu*, a *Louvois*, a *Mazarine*, an *Olivarez*, &c. and who is not struck with the Splendour of their high Titles and Appearances?

We have among us an old Saying, that, who serves the Publick, serves Nobody: Is it not then a Folly to forego our own Interest, to neglect the Opportunity of building up a noble House, of introducing our Children into the State, by making them hereditary Senators, of having it in our Power to raise our Friends and Kindred, to strengthen our Interest,

terest, by Alliances with the noblest Families; is it not, I say, a Folly to spurn from us those Advantages for *Nobody*; must not that Man be fit for *Bedlam*, who would lose these Blessings for the Applause of a giddy thoughtless Populace, or of an Historian as vain as the Heroes he admires? If any of the Descendants of *Walsingham* are in Being, are they distinguished by a particular Respect paid them on the Score of their abstemious Ancestor? In what are they the better for his romantick Virtue, which sunk him into such Poverty, that he was buried by Stealth, to prevent the arresting of his Corpse?

I confess, I was once so far intoxicated with the Rants of these Patriots, that I gloried in my Wants, was proud of my Rags, and fancy'd that my Garret raised me above the most flourishing of my Name in Post. I was a real Martyr to a publick Spirit, and shew'd such a passive Courage, that I held out against the incessant Attacks of Cold and Hunger; but my compassionate Stars have, by contemplating your Conduct, and searching into the true Motives of that, and Patriotism, open'd my Eyes to my own Folly, and to your Prudence.

What is it to us if the springing Generation is under a limited or despotick Government? Why should we be the Victims of a Race we shall scarcely know? Will a prudent Man make himself miserable while he lives, that he may be talked of with Respect when he is dead; or will he entail the Curse of his Family upon himself, for the idle Breath of a People, who would deny him Bread in his Wants? Egregious Vanity! Of what Service will a pompous Inscription be to our Remains? Will it feed our destitute Family, or save them from Contempt? On the contrary, will a Pillar of Infamy, for the Subversion of a Nation, make us uneasy in our Graves, or will our Families in Possession of glaring Titles and great Estates be less respected? Will they not be *Right Honourable*, tho' the Plunder of the Orphan and Widow was the Foundation of their Grandeur? will any object on that Account to an Alliance with them? and will not the Fruits of our prudent Industry, in a short Space, drown all invidious Reflections?

Let us, my Countrymen, be anxious for ourselves alone, we are to live but once here; let Futurity shift for itself, and if we can make a good Bargain of those who are to come after, let us not neglect the Opportunity for romantick Scruples, and idle Notions of our being obliged to deliver to Posterity, that Liberty handed down to, and preserved for us by the Blood of our Ancestors. We are happy, I own, that our Fathers were not so clear-sighted as the present Generation; but because my Father was a Fool, I hope gone will bring it as an Argument, that I

ought to be so too. The Wisdom, however, of your Conduct makes these Exhortations needless; you have wisely prefer'd your own present Advantage to that of your Posterity; have sold S—s in *futuro* for Money in *præ-senti*, and no doubt have cautiously stipulated with the *Purchasers*, for the Preservation of your own *Liberties* for Life.

A I congratulate you, my Countrymen, who have wisely raised a Fund not only on a Race unborn, but even not begot; I congratulate you on the Stupidity of your Forefathers, which prevented their fore-stalling you, and left the present Generation the Opportunity of selling the succeeding; I congratulate you on your living under so wise, so great, and so liberal a M— of S—. And, lastly, I congratulate you on your own Prudence in following his glorious Example, and having no Regard but for your peculiar and present Interest, which shall for the future be diligently copy'd by,

Dear and Judicious Countrymen,
Your humble Servant,

TIMOTHY SCRUBB.

London Journal, July 6. N^o 784.

Some Thoughts on the Independency and Wealth of the Parliament, and the Sense of the Nation.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great Majority in the present Parliament on the Side of their Country, we are told (says Osborne) by our *Mock Country-Interest*, that the Sense of the Nation is with them, and that the Property and Independency of the Nation are with them too.

The Sense of the Nation hath already been shewn to be with the Court, if by Sense is understood the Opinions of those who have any Knowledge of publick Affairs. (See p. 361.) But even that *Mob-Sense*, which our *Whig-Patriots* say is of their Side, is directly against them; for they are not one fourth of the Members who are against the Court; the rest are all thorough Tories, dead at Mark. The Sense of the Nation is so far from being with the *Malecontent Whigs*, that they are sunk, and the *Tory Interest* raised and encreased by their Faction.

The Opposition which these Whigs have made, and the ill Things they have retailed thro' the Kingdom, for several Years past, against the King and Government, have not so much broke the *Whig-Interest*, as encreas'd the *Tory and Jacobite-Interest*: For I do affirm, and am able to prove, that near four Fifths of the Minority are determined Tories, and that there is near one Third more in Number than were chosen into the Old House. So that this very Sense of the Nation, which the Authors of the *Craftsman* boast is with them, is only a *Tory or Jacobite*

Jacobite Sense; that is, a Sense against the *Government itself*, rais'd and improv'd by Men, who, to their eternal Dishonour, assume the Name of *Whigs* and *Patriots*.

Let us now examine what they have affirmed about *Independency*. All the *Independency*, if we will take their Words, lies entirely on their Side; but, I say, that the *Electors* on the Court Side are full as independent as *their Electors*: That there are more Members with the Court in the present House of Commons, who are independent as to *their Seats in Parliament*, than the whole Number of Members against the Court; and I also say further, that there are near 200 Court Members, (as they are call'd) who have no Places nor Court Dependencies.

The *Faction* affirm, indeed, in a late *Craftsman*, that tho' the *Citizens* and *Burgeffes* may have more Understanding of publick Affairs, than the *Freeholders* in the Counties; yet that the *Freeholders* are more free and independent. (See p. 315.) But this is not true: The general Ignorance of the small *Freeholders* constitutes their *Dependency*; for Ignorance naturally produces slavish Subjection. But besides this Want of Knowledge in State Affairs, they are almost all of them dependent, as to Interests, upon the neighbouring Gentlemen living amongst them, who have it very much in their Power to use them well or ill according to their Behaviour. But in *Cities*, *Great Towns* and *Boroughs*, where People live together, and subsist by Trade, the Case is very different.

So much for their *Independency*. Now for their *Wealth*. It is well known, that above a fourth Part of the Gentlemen, who are called the *Court Interest*, have, one with another, above 4000*l.* per Ann. and each of them 3000*l.* a Year: That half of these Court Members have above 2000*l.* a Year each Man; and the rest, in general, very good Estates in Land and Money. So that 'tis next to impossible, they should ever sacrifice the Liberties of their Country, to a Court; for, a Court hath no Equivalent to give them: Nor can it be proved by any History, that a People free and wealthy ever gave up their Liberties. We are, therefore, secure on that Head; for there is more Wealth in Money, and greater Estates in Land, among the Gentlemen who are chosen on the Court Side, than there are among the Anti-Courtiers.

Craftsman, July 13. N^o 419.

Conclusion of the former. (See p. 360.)

I Shall now proceed (says *D'Anvers*) to some Remarks on the courtly Mr. *Walsingham*, whom I have lately provoked beyond all Patience, by explaining a Character in one of

his Papers, which I apprehended to be drawn for his *Patron*; (see p. 313.) nor hath he, indeed, denied it; but is very angry with me for finding Fault with an Expression or two in that fine Piece of Painting, where he calls the Gentleman, whom he was drawing, *Father of the People*, and *Guardian of their Happiness*. I express'd my Opinion that such Appellations do not properly belong to any Subject, but have always been attributed to the *Sovereign*. Upon this, Mr. *Walsingham* states the Case in very different Terms, and then charges me with paltry-petty fogging Knavery, for lugging in the Name of Majesty by Violence on this important Occasion. Now, for my Part, I cannot see any Violence in the Case. The Remark was obvious, and immediately occur'd to several Gentlemen, who happen'd to take up his Paper, as well as myself. But, for God's sake, why petty-fogging Knavery, of all Expressions in the World? There is some Discretion required even in the Choice of Epithets; and, methinks, so judicious a Writer as Mr. *Walsingham* should have run over his whole Vocabulary, on this important Occasion, rather than make Use of one so improper; for the Word *Petty-fogging* hath the same Effect out of his Mouth as Mrs. *Osborne's* Want of Ideas. (See p. 361.)

It is certainly true that the Title of *Fathers* was always given to the *Roman Senate*; and that publick Benefactors were frequently distinguished, in the same Manner, with the Appellation of *Patres Patriæ*, or *Fathers of their Country*. But what is this to the Purpose; Is there no Difference between a *Commonwealth* and a *Monarchy*; even a *limited Monarchy*? I must likewise put this Gentleman in Mind that there was not a more common Expression amongst the old *Romans* than the *Majesty of the People*; and yet if I should expressly apply it to the *British People*, or even by Way of Allusion only, I am confident that he would immediately renew the Cry of *Republicanism*, and gravely undertake to prove that it was stripping the King of the sacred Robes of Majesty, and clapping them on the Back of the People.

It is likewise true, as Mr. *Walsingham* observes, that the *Roman Emperors* never deny'd the Appellation of *Fathers to the Senate*. But if he will consult *Tacitus*, *Machiavil*, or almost any Writer upon the Reigns of those Emperors, he will find that they continued the Senate itself for no other Reason than to cheat the People out of their Liberty, and carry on their new-invented Tyranny under old Names. *Proprium id Tiberio fuit, says Tacitus, scelera nuper reperta prisca verbis obtegere*. Since it was therefore their Interest to maintain the Form of a Senate, in order to screen and authorize their wicked Practices; who can wonder that they should likewise continue the old Appellation, for the same Purpose?

It would have been too barefaced in the worst of these Monsters to have called the Senate a Parcel of Tools and Bubbles, as they really were. Nay, it is remarkable that Tiberius, as the same Historian informs us, was so cautious of discovering his Designs, and stirring up Jealousy, that he refused the Title of Father of his Country, tho' often pressed by the People to accept of it. *Nomen Patris Patriæ Tiberius, a Populo sapius ingessum, repudiavit.*

But a King of Great Britain is, properly speaking, the Father of his People, being intended as such by our Constitution; and it being one of his most endearing Appellations, we are often address'd in this Style from the Throne itself. I must therefore leave the World to judge whether Mr. Walsingham's Application of it was not improper, at least; and whether he might not as well have complimented his Patron with the Title of Defender of the Faith.

Thus much concerning our ministerial Step-Father; for I am still willing to give him that Title, and shall always pay him the Duty, which belongs to it. Let us now proceed to his Advocate's Observations on the late Elections and Sense of the People.

Mr. W. seems to prevaricate a little on this Subject; for in his late Satire against Popularity, he plainly gave up the Sense of the People, by acknowledging, without any Reserve, that it is not the Loss of a single Contest, which is to be considered as the real Grievance. The Example, said he, is of a general Nature. But finding this Concession turn'd strongly against him, and having, perhaps, received a gentle Reprimand for it, he began to draw back again, and imitate his old Sister Osborne, by distinguishing between the Voice of the People and the Sense of the People; one of which he calls popular Witchcraft and the Halo of the Mob; whereas he tells us that the other resides in the Head, and never breaks forth into any publick Manifestations. He likewise concurs with the same learned Lady in Opinion that these Men of silent Sense are all on the Court Side, and from thence concludes that it is ridiculous for us to insist on the noisy Voice of the People. In short, they have bandy'd these plain Words backwards and forwards so long, in order to cover the late Disgrace of their Patron, that I verily believe they don't know what they mean themselves by the Sense of the People, unless it be the Sense of People in Places.

As for the Counties and great trading Towns, which have proved very undutiful to our ministerial Papa, they have nothing else to say but that these Elections have been carried by popular Violence, bad Pollers, and other illegal Practices. For this Reason Mr. W. hath seconded his Inveective against Popularity with a learned Apology for Weeding, and modestly assures us that all the corrupt Influence at the late Elections, as well as false Returns, will appear on the Country Side.

Now I will venture to affirm, as to the first Part of this Charge, that there never was a general Election in this Kingdom attended with less Rioting than that, which is lately over. We have scarcely heard of so much as a broken Head upon this Occasion, or of any Attempts towards popular Violence; tho' there was sufficient Provocation given for it, on the Court Side, in several Places; but the People happened to be apprized of their Designs, and therefore very wisely restrained themselves.

As to Corruption and undue Influence, it seems very extraordinary that those should be most culpable in this Respect, who are least able to support the Expence; and that those, who are so liberally endowed with Confidence and Credit, should keep their Fingers intirely undefiled. But Mr. W. seems to be aware that this Charge will not hold good, upon Enquiry, and therefore endeavours to confound the natural, honest Influence of Country Gentlemen, which hath never been called in Question, with that corrupt, ministerial Influence, which hath occasioned so many Complaints, in all Ages, and is made punishable by so many Laws. Whatever Mr. W. may apprehend, there is a very wide Difference between the ordinary Struggles of private Gentlemen against each other, (even supposing some undue Influence should be used,) and the corrupt Application of publick Money; for, in one Case, Gentlemen of the best Estates and Interest in their Country, would be generally chosen; but, in the other, a Parcel of little Upstarts might be sent down, to browbeat and exclude the worthiest Families in the Kingdom.

As to bad Pollers and false Returns, I heartily wish that they may be all set aside, without any Regard to Parties, or Persons whatsoever; for I cannot agree with Mr. W. that the bare Name of a Tory is a sufficient Reason to thrust a Man out of his Seat in Parliament; or that even their Numbers ought to pass for a Proof of their false, corrupt, and illegal Elections.

Upon the Whole, I believe the Country Party have no Reason to be afraid of a fair Enquiry, and desire nothing more than an impartial Determination of all their Disputes with the other Side. This may be justly expected from our present Representatives, notwithstanding Mr. W's Insinuations to the contrary; and if the Sense of Parliament, in other Respects, should appear on his Side, as he seems to promise himself, it will be a plain Sign that the Court does not want any new Accession of Power, to strengthen its Hands against the Country Interest.

As to the Complaints of setting up a Country Party, in Opposition to the Court; my Answer is, that it was not originally set up by Us, but by Those, whose Conduct for several Years past made it absolutely necessary. To this it is replied, that the Interest of Court

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and Country is the same. I say so too; but Ministers are apt to be of another Opinion, and when they have created the Difference, grow angry with the Distinction. Lastly, it is added, that such Distinctions tend to alienate the People's Affections from their Prince, and render them uneasy under his Government. There may, perhaps, be some Truth in this; and I am ready to allow that it is a very wicked Thing to rob a good Prince of his strongest Support. But if the best King upon Earth should happen to be cursed with a desperate Minister, who is driving every Thing to Ruin, what is to be done? Besides, I must put these worthy Writers and their Patron in Mind, that there is another Practice as wicked as the former; I mean alienating the Prince's Affections from his People, for whose Good all Government was originally founded.

POSTSCRIPT.

MY dear old Friend Mrs. Osborne, having tried all Ways to prove that the Sense of the Nation, or the electing Part of it, is on her Side, hath at last turn'd her Argument to the *Elected*, and advanced some Positions upon that Subject, which have surprized the whole Town.

These Positions are, that not only the Sense of the People, but even the Independency and Wealth of the Parliament are on the Court-Side. (See p. 363.)

In the first Place, the good old Lady asserts that there are near 200 of the Court-Members, (as they are called) who have no Places, nor Court-Dependencies. — I am glad to hear it with all my Heart; for I will defy her to prove that this was the Case of the last Parliament; and therefore it confirms our Argument that the late Elections have done some Service to the Nation. Besides, if Mrs. Osborne can prove her Assertion, that there is so large a Number of Gentlemen, on whom her Patron depends, without any Influence of Places, or Court-Dependencies, I shall be very far from giving them up entirely as Court-Members, whatever they may be called.

So far as to their Independency. She then proceeds to their Wealth; and having given us a general Calculation of their Estates, concludes that there is more Wealth in Money and greater Estates in Land among the Gentlemen who are chosen on the Court Side, than there are among the Anti-Courtiers. What Money they may have God only knows; for Money hath no Ear-Mark, and is generally concealed. But I was quite startled to see Madam Osborne claim the Superiority in Land; for, to confess the Truth, I was just going to challenge her on that very Account, and thought myself able to prove, from a Computation, which I had made, that the Country Members had, at least, double the Wealth in landed Estates; especially if she would give

me Leave to except two or three of her Acquaintance, who have lately squeezed immense Treasures out of the Blood and Bowels of the Kingdom. However, if she includes the 200 Court Members (as they are called) who have no Places, nor Court Dependencies, in this Account, I will readily give up the Point, and say no more of it.

Fog's Journal, July 13. N^o 297.

Extract from the Writings of the late unfortunate Duke of Wharton.

THE first essential Ingredient necessary to form a Patriot, is, *Impartiality*; for if a Person shall think himself bound by any other Rules but those of his own Reason and Judgment, or obliged to follow the Dictates of others, who shall appear the Heads of the Party he is engaged in, he sinks below the Dignity of a human Creature.

This is but too much the Misfortune of the Country we live in; for let either *Whig* or *Tory*, when in Power, grow wanton in the Abuse of it, or endeavour to maintain themselves in it, by illegal and unwarrantable Measures; those amongst them, who, by the Influence of their Consciences, shall be prevailed on to oppose such Steps as they judge wicked and dangerous, are stiled by the leading Men of the Party they were engaged in, (and, consequently, reputed by their numerous Train of Sycophants and Followers) *Deserters of their Friends*, because such honest Men refuse to be, what they esteem, *Betrayers of their Country*.

The Coldness, and sometimes Disdain, which a Man governed thus by the Principles of Honour, generally meets with on such Occasions, from the Friends he has ever acted in Concert with for the former Part of his Life, are Considerations which but too often subdue the best inclined Spirits, and prevail with them to be passive and obedient, rather than active and resolute. But if such could but once feel the Pleasure of having done their Duty, they would meet with a sufficient Reward within themselves, to overbalance the Loss of their Friends, or the Malice of their Enemies.

Ambition and Avarice are directly opposite to the Character of a True Briton; for tho' an Increase of Power, or of Riches, may be the proper Reward of Merit, and the most honest Statesman may, with Justice, accept of either: Yet, when the Mind is infected with a Thirst after them, all Notions of Truth, Principle and Independency, are lost in such Minds, and, by growing Slaves to their own Passions, they become naturally subservient to those who can indulge and gratify them.

In obscure Persons, these monstrous Vices frequently lead those that are possessed of them, into Mischiefs and Villainy. But whenever, for

for the Curse of a Government, the greatest Statesmen are endowed with these Springs of Corruption and Knavery, the unfortunate Subjects who live under their Influence, must fall Victims to satisfy their gluttonous Appetites, and the State they preside in, will be treated by them, as if it were given by Providence into their Hands, to gratify their cruel and destructive Passions,

These Vices, when they are not strong enough to work the Mind to publick Villainy, frequently throw Shackles on the Hearts of Men, who would otherwise act uprightly, and restrain them from doing that which is warranted by Justice and Honesty. How many Persons has this Country produced, in former Times, who, convinced of the true Interest of Great Britain, have declined to pursue it, for fear of losing a little inconsiderable Employment, no Way suitable to their Ranks or Fortunes? Can there be a more melancholy Prospect, than to see Men of the greatest Abilities, Quality and Estates, make it their utmost Desire, to be admitted Tools to a Court, where they ought to preside, and make no other Use of the Advantages Heaven has given them, than to support those at the Helm in their Attempts to destroy the State?

Our Age affords no living Instance of this Nature, such is the Care, Justice and Reputation of our Governors, and the Independency of both Houses of Parliament.

In publick Affairs, it is the Duty of every Man to be free from *Personal Prejudices*; neither ought we to oppose any Step that is taking for the Good of our Country, purely because those that are the Contrivers and Advisers of it, are obnoxious to us.

Intrepidity and *Firmness* are two Virtues which every True Briton must be Master of, or else all the other Talents he is possess'd of, are useless and barren.

A Man may be honest and righteous, but if he is fearful and timorous, he will stagger when these great Qualities are needful to be exerted for the Good of his Country, and he sinks into a lukewarm Patriot. Some Men of Integrity have been prevailed on to remain quiet and unactive, to avoid the Reflections cast upon them by vulgar Tongues, and the backney Scriblers of each Party.

We have heard of considerable Men, in late Reigns, who have retired into the Court, and left the Power of Government in the Hands of others, for fear, if they opposed the Measures then pursuing, they should be branded with odious Names of *Jacobites*, and *disaffected Persons*. Such Men as these, who, tho' honest in *Theory*, yet fear to be so in *Practice*, should consider, that of all the Duties which Nature first required, and reveal'd Religion has since confirmed, none is more strong or more necessary than that we owe to our Country,

In England this Pusillanimity is more to be warded against, than in most other Countries; for whenever there has appeared an ill-designing Ministry, one of their chief Views has been to traduce and terrify those who have had the Courage to adhere inviolably to the Liberties of the Subject. This Method has been generally pursued, and the Situation of Affairs here has always furnished the Tools of a Government with Means to oblige their Masters, and obey their Commands in this Particular. When the Tories have been in Power, those who did not give Supplies, or answer their Intentions, were instantly called *Foes to the Church*, and *Republicans*: And the Whigs never fail to stile their Antagonists *Foes to the State*, and *Jacobites*. But a bold and daring Patriot will scorn these little Slanders, nor suffer them to obstruct his Loyalty and Integrity. Such a Patriot will propose no other Prospect but the publick Good of the Commonwealth; and if, in the attaining of that great End, by the Villainy of the Times, he should fall a Martyr to his Country, he will, with Comfort, consider, that he has answered the Will of his Maker, who sent him into the World to do Good, or die, rather than not oppose Evil.

Here might we go back into History, and see with what great Lustre the Names of such Heroes are delivered down to Posterity; and how much more they are esteemed who perish in a good Cause, than those who triumph in a bad one. But this is unnecessary at present: For our Co-Temporaries, especially the chief amongst us, are all Friends to Justice; and no Man is injured in his Liberty or Fortune: Such is the Wisdom and Integrity of the present Ministers!

It is incumbent on every Person who lives in a Commonwealth, to promote the Welfare of it, as much as his Situation of Life will permit him; and, therefore, those who act in a little Sphere, ought to exert their Zeal with as much Sincerity as those of greater Figure or Power. Such as can have no other Opportunities of publishing their Thoughts, but by communicating them to the World in Print, would be wanting in their Duty, should they neglect taking that Method of informing their Fellow-Subjects of Matters, which perhaps, otherwise, might escape their Knowledge, tho' necessary for them to be acquainted with.

The Liberty of Speech, in Parliament, is the greatest Jewel that adorns our Government, and frequently has put a Stop to the Designs of bad Men, when they were attempting the Subversion of the Constitution. It has, indeed, frequently been dangerous, and often destructive, to Patriots who have made the best Use of it; but yet there have always been, and I hope ever will be, in both Houses, Men of Honour, Honesty and Intre-

pidity, to imploy the Talents God has endowed them with, in the Service of their Country; and whom neither Hopes can tempt, or Fear deter from pursuing the publick Good.

The *Freedom of the Press*, is another Bulwark of our Liberty; and there needs no greater Argument to prove it, than the frequent Attempts that have been made to destroy it, under Pretence of restraining of it. Wicked Men must naturally labour to have their Actions conceal'd, or, at least, so published, that every Person should credit the Glosses which they themselves throw upon them; but the judicious Part of Mankind will be inform'd of every Circumstance before they peremptorily give an Opinion on any Matter whatsoever.

A Person who writes on *political Subjects*, ought to be free from *Partiality*, and every other Vice which may sway his Sentiments, or induce him to represent Matters in false Lights; and, I hope, my Behaviour in the Sequel of this Work will convince the World, that my only Intention in publishing these Sheets, is, to lay Truth open; and in such a Manner, as becomes one who determines to live and die a TRUE BRITON.

London Journal, July 13. N^o 785.

The Nature of the present Opposition.

THE present Opposition (says *Osborne*) is not *national*, but *personal*; which, if the People of *England* would consider, they would find, that they had nothing to do with the Contest. The Contention is not, now, between the *Government* and the *People*, or between the *King* and the *Nation*, nor between the *Ministry* and the *People*; but between the *Gentlemen in Power*, and certain *Gentlemen out of Power*; and the Strife is, *Who shall be greatest?* This, and this only is the Case. The Persons in the *Opposition* are not contending for any Good to the Nation: They are not labouring how to make the *People* happy, but how to be at the Head of Power. They have, as it were, insolently surrounded and attacked the *Throne*; they have, in *Action* at least, told his Majesty, that he shall not keep his *Ministry*, but they will be his *Ministry*; in order to which, they are endeavouring, by all the Ways that *Disappointment* and *Malice* can invent, to distress the *King's Government*; they mingle with *Jacobites* and *Traitors* at Home; they betray our *Councils* to foreign Agents; and represent Things so much to the Disadvantage of their own Country, as to hinder the Success of *Negotiations* Abroad: And they also set the *People* against the *Ministry* by vile *Calumny*, monstrous *Tales*, and impudent *Faithoods*; and then gravely say, the *Sense* of the *People* is against them,

and demands their Removal. Whereas, in Truth, there is no Sense of the *People* against them, but what they have put into them; nor would the *People* have imagined any publick Evil, had not their *Papers*, sent thro' the Kingdom, set their *Imaginations* at work, and made them dream and talk of Evils which they never felt.

Grubstreet Journal, July 18. N^o 238.

In Praise of the MORNING.

MR. BAVIUS,

THE agreeable Entertainment I met with this Morning, would lose Part of its Relish, if not communicated. I have the good Fortune to be so pleasantly lodged, as to have a Prospect of a neighbouring Grove, where the Eye receives the most delicious Refreshment from the lively Verdure of the Greens, and the wild Regularity by which the Scene shifts off, and disparts itself into a beautiful Chequer. The Commodiousness of the Place has tempted such a tuneful Throng of Inhabitants, that the pretty little Warblers, while they jointly improve the Harmony, seem yet to make their Strains so spirited, as if they contended, which should be most heard. I have often lent my Ear to these natural Concerts, with an affectionate Kind of Pleasure; but never so much to my Satisfaction as this Morning. To start out of a most troublesome Dream, and immediately to find my tortured Senses regaled with such innocent Harmony, was certainly a very seasonable Relief. For some Time, I gratefully listened to these Restorers of my Quiet; but thought I could not better improve the Opportunity, than by turning my Attention in upon itself, and seriously reflecting upon the Design of Providence, in organizing this Part of the animal World into so much Melody. One while, I considered these early Warblers, as the Choristers of Nature, and looked upon their matin Chants, as a Tribute of Praise exacted upon them by the Author of their Being. Another while, I looked upon them as acting the Part of Bell-men to the human Species; and took their early Serenades for so many gentle Summons to call us to our respective Duties.

This Notion, however trifling it may seem, may yet be of great Use, especially in studious Life. Whenever we reflect upon the agreeable Vicissitude of the Seasons, we are always sure to single Spring out as most worthy our Admiration. 'Tis then that Nature recovers herself, as it were, from her Winter Ague; and diffuses an universal Sprightliness thro' the Animal, as well as Vegetable World. 'Tis then too, that the Faculties of Man receive a brisker Movement, and his Imagination seems to teem with Fertility of Thought.

If then we are speculatively possessed of so great Advantages, Practice would quickly make them real. When the whole Creation has roused itself, and the little feathered People are cheerfully inviting us to partake of the Benefits of the Morning, we ought to rescue ourselves from a captivating Indolence, and put ourselves upon the Exertion of those Faculties, which a moderate Refreshment has rendered fit for Action, and which would be so much brightened and assisted by the Temperature and Fragrance of the Morning. By this we should have the Season we pretend to be so enamour'd with, continued to us the better Part of the Year; and a sultry inactive Day, succeeded by a cool enlivening Morning.

Among all the celebrated Poets, we generally find the Morning complimented with the most beautiful Epithet their Invention can furnish. Homer's *Ποσειδάωνος* has always had its Admirers and Imitators; and I think the *Rosyfinger'd Morn* should have something so sweet and agreeable, as would make every one desirous of shaking Hands with her. One would imagine, that this pretty Nymph *Aurora* should be caressed in the most tender Manner, in the Seats of the Muses. But, instead of being courted, as she might expect, she too often finds, that the Inhabitants shut her out and exclude her their Company; and tho' she now and then can steal a Glance in at the Window, and peep thro' the Curtains, yet even then she sees her Civility repayed by their turning their Backsides upon her, and giving her no other Answer but a Snore. I will be so ingenuous as to own, Mr. *Bavius*, that I myself have been very hard-hearted to her, and used her with too much Coyness: But at present she meets with more favourable Returns; for she makes Court to me in so sincere and disinterested a Manner, that I should be an Obstacle to my own Happiness, by resisting the Enjoyment of so many Charms.

Oxon, June
20, 1734.

I am, &c.

ACADEMICUS.

Free Briton, July 18. N^o 245.

Of the antient British Legislative Power.

THE antient British Government was a military Government. The Island was divided into many independent States, and each Division of the Country governed by a military Power, from a Necessity of being always upon their Defence against the Encroachments of their Neighbours. Hence the People were trained up in Arms, and the Leaders of their Troops were their standing Council, as well in Peace as in War. To these were associated the Heads of their religious Orders. The Prince or chief Magistrate called such Persons to his Assistance, as had the greatest Power and Credit amongst the People. These

gave him their Advice, and supported him in such Acts as were the Consequences of their own Approbation. But the People themselves, till the more modern Times, cannot be found to have had any Share in these Councils.

A The Authority of these Assemblies, where the Chiefs and the Priests sat in Council, extended itself without Bounds, and was the ordinary legislative Power. The Acts of such Assemblies were every where treated as the Acts of the Publick, tho' the People seem to have had no Sort of Business in framing or passing them. Even under the Saxon Government, the *Wittenagemote*, or *Assembly of wise Men*, was only such a Convention of military and religious Men.

B *Rapin* observes, that the *Druids* among the *Britons* were held in so great a Veneration, that publick Matters were never transacted without their Approbation. Sir *William Temple* says, no Laws were instituted without such Approbation, either by Princes or common Assemblies. Their Religion was their Pretence for assuming the Management of private and publick Affairs. And as Men, who are trusted with any Kind of Influence, will employ it to selfish, interested Ends, these *Druids*, in due Conformity to this Spirit of Ambition, assumed a Power to exclude from their Sacrifices all who disputed their Determinations.

C It is a Truth of the surest, as well as of the saddest Experience, that in whatever Hands a Prince shall trust the Consciences of his Subjects, in those very Hands does he trust the Allegiance of his Subjects. It is not therefore to be doubted, that in the various Governments of antient Britain, the Princes were forced to throw themselves on the religious Men as well as on the military. That both had their Share in the *Wittenagemote* of the Saxons is certain, for the King's *Thanes*, or *Barons*, were spiritual, as well as temporal. And when the Christian Religion obtained among us, in the Place of Paganism, the Christian Priesthood seem to have made an easy Slide into all the secular Offices, and temporal Institutions, which were known under the Pagan.

F The Convention of the Counties by *Alfred*, seems to have been the first of any Note in this Kingdom. He died in the Year 900. *Edward* the Elder, his Son and Successor, is said to have assembled the Bishops, the Abbots, the faithful Subjects, the great Men, and the People in the Kingdom of *Wessex*. And *Atbelstan*, who succeeded *Edward*, granted his Charter, 931, in the Presence of the *Patriæ Procuratores*. That these *Procuratores* were a Convention of the Counties is further confirmed by a Passage, which *Rapin* hath cited from the *Mirror of Justices*, one of the most antient Books in the Law, where

where it is said to be an old Law, that the King could not change the Money, or make other Coin than that of Silver, *without the Consent of the Counties.* And that King Alfred first assembled the Counties by their Procurators, or Representatives, is confirmed by this Circumstance, that he ascertained the Number and Limits of the Counties.

When and on what Occasions the Counties were first called to assist in the *Wittenagemote*, or legislative Bodies, does not appear. It seems most probable to have happened after the Union of many Counties under one Head: For Alfred's Convention of all the Counties, was in Consequence of his having united the whole Kingdom under his own Government. It is sufficient to make our Title to Parliaments indubitable, that ever since we have been a Kingdom, we have had a Representative: But it must be allowed, that this general Assembly, in its Beginnings, was the meer Shadow of that Structure which the Wisdom of many succeeding Ages raised and improved, till it became the Glory and Strength of the People.

Craftsman, July 20. N^o 402.

Some Observations on the late Election of sixteen Peers to represent the Peerage of Scotland.

MY Remarks (says D'Amers) on the *English Elections* have been extended farther than I proposed at first, or perhaps was necessary, in order to see what the ministerial Writers would say to the Charge exhibited against their Patron, concerning the late Election of Peers in Scotland. About five Weeks ago, I gave the Publick a true Copy of the *Protests* entered by several noble Lords, upon that Occasion, (which see, page 316.) with only two or three cursory Remarks, by Way of Explanation; and chose to defer any farther Observations on them, till the Court-Advocates had given us their Sentiments on so important a Subject. But they have hitherto contented themselves with some general Reflections on the *Protesters*, and seem to have industriously avoided any particular Disquisition of the Matter itself. The Day-Labourers in the *Courant* have, indeed, obliged us with several Dissertations upon this Subject; but I did not imagine *these Papers* intended as the Cue of the Party, and was every Week in Hopes of seeing the Discussion of so material a Point undertaken by the learned Madam Osborne, or the courtly Mr. Walsingham; to whose Writings I shall always pay the profoundest Regard, as coming from Authority, and licensed according to Order. However, as *these premier Advocates* have thought fit to decline the Contest, and perhaps they may think it a Place too sore to be touch'd, I will condescend so far as to take some Notice of what

the minor Politicians have advanced upon the *Scottish Elections* and *Protests*. I am the more inclined to do this, because I have observed that the Patron of *these Writers* sometimes chuses to throw out his first Hints in obscure Papers, that he may afterwards have an Opportunity of justifying, or disowning them, as he sees Occasion.

A I thought at first that *these Gentlemen* intended to be waggish, and turn the Subject into Ridicule, by undertaking to prove that the *Protests* were not genuine; but by dwelling upon the same Subject thro' several Papers, and gravely calling upon the noble Lords to resent such an Injury to their Names, they appear to be in downright Earnest, and would have the World believe that *these Papers* were only some of the ordinary Libels of our Malecontents, under the solemn Form of *Protests*; tho' there were many authentick Copies of the *Minutes of Election* then in Town; and a certain Person is since arrived from those Parts, who is fully able to convince them that such Instruments were actually enter'd and sign'd at Edinburgh by the noble Lords, to whom they are ascrib'd.

C The first Argument to prove *these Protests* fictitious is, that the Persons charged with making use of such undue Influence are not specifically mentioned, but only pointed out under the general Character of Ministers and People in Power. Now this Objection, as I apprehend, will hold equally strong against all our *English Protests*; for I do not remember that I ever saw one, in which the Name of any Minister was expressly mention'd; tho' I have read many full of very plain and strong Allusions to him.

D Another Reason for supposing *these Papers* not to be genuine is, that they do not contain any particular and explicit Proofs of the undue Influence, with which some Gentlemen stand charged. This is a notable Argument truly; and the *Protesters* must have been as wise as *these Writers*, or their Director, if they had thus forearm'd the Persons accused, and given them an Opportunity of defeating the Evidence by some ingenious Contrivance, for which Men in their Station and Circumstances are seldom at a Loss.

F But the best Reason of all comes last; for they add, that supposing the Charge could be proved, the Matters alledg'd in the *Protests* are not contrary to any Law, and therefore not criminal; from whence it is infer'd that the noble Lords, whose Names are affix'd to them, could not be guilty of so frivolous a Charge. I don't know what *these Gentlemen* may intend by saying that Corruption, in the Election of *Scottish Peers*, is not contrary to any Law. If they mean that it is not expressly prohibited by any Statute Law, they may perhaps be in the Right; but surely they cannot want to be inform'd that all Actions in themselves immoral,

or what we may call in Latin *Mala in se*, are contrary to the common Law of the Land; for it is an establish'd Maxim that the Law hath a Remedy for every Evil, and that want of Right and want of Remedy are the same Thing. Besides, I apprehend that the Clause in the Bill of Rights, which provides that all Elections shall be free, includes a Condemnation of all undue Influence, or Corruption; for tho' the Union of the two Kingdoms happened since; yet all the Laws of England being confirmed and recognized by the Act of Union, unless in some particular Points there specify'd, it is now become the general Law of the united Kingdom. But there is still something farther to be said upon this Subject; for supposing with these worthy Writers that there is no express Law now in being against Corruption, in the Election of Scottish Peers, it shews at least the Expediency of such a Law, or Resolution as was moved for, the last Session of Parliament, by a noble Duke (which see, page 171 A.)

A previous Question was, indeed, put upon this Motion, whether it should be then put, and it was resolved in the Negative; which was supposed to be owing, in a great Measure, to the Arguments of a learned Lord, very justly advanced to the Head of the Law; who observed that the Practices, design'd to be prevented by the Motion, being undoubtedly contrary to Law, the Motion itself was needless. However, many Peers had such particular Reasons for reinforcing the Law, at that Juncture, that they thought fit to enter the Reasons of their Dissent; (which see, page 171 D.)

I shall close my Observations on this Part of the Subject with taking Notice that the Apology itself is a tacit Confession of Guilt; for it does not contain any Denial of the Fact charged upon People in Power, but an avowed Justification of it, as contrary to no Law, supposing it to be true.

The last *Courant* I have seen upon this Subject is signed R. Freeman, whom I take, by his Manner of Writing, to be the same great Genius, that distinguished itself last Year under the Name of Carus. This notable Author seems to think that he hath given a full Answer to the Protest, concerning the Battalion under Arms during the Time of Election, by observing that the Scots Peerage having always been remarkable for their Courage, and never more so than at present, it is ridiculous to suppose that they should be overaw'd by a Body of Men, who did not exceed the Number of themselves and their own Servants. But as we have been told from the same Quarter that the Court-List carried their Election by almost two to one, and it is reasonable to suppose that they were enabled to appear with as good an Equipage as the others, there does not seem to have been any Occasion for calling in the military Power to their Assistance. Besides, I must acquaint this

Gentleman with another Point, which may perhaps have escaped his Knowledge; I mean that the Legislature hath taken particular Care to prevent any tumultuary, or seditious Practices, upon these Occasions, by restraining any Scots Peer from coming to such Meetings with any more than his ordinary Attendants.

A It appears, upon a View of the Protests, that the noble Lords, who signed them, proceeded in a regular Manner; it hath been observed, indeed, that the Court Lords have as much Right to associate themselves into a List, and support each other's Interest as the Country Lords. This is very true; nor does the Charge consist in any such voluntary Association, but in the arbitrary Nomination of the Minister, and the undue Means employed to procure the Election of his List.

B It must likewise be confessed that this Charge remains to be proved; but if it should happen to be made good; and if any of the Protesting Peers should be able to name the Persons who attempted them, as well as the particular Sums, or Employments, which they were offered; I hope it will not be denied that this is a very high Offence against the Constitution, and ought to be severely punished; for if any Minister should be allowed to thrust Members into the House of Lords by such Means, the Independency of Parliament would be entirely lost; and tho' I can never agree with Mr. Walsingham in calling him Father of the People, he might be properly enough styled Father of the Senate.

C A Minister, who gets such an Ascendency over the Legislature, may safely defy his Enemies, and laugh at all Accusations. It is just like a certain Prelate's Method of playing at Whisk, with the Liberty of consulting his Partner's Hand, and naming Trumps.

E I cannot conclude without observing that wicked Ministers have generally been most bold and undisguised in oppressing Scotland, as the weakest Part of the Island; well knowing that a total Reduction of England would soon follow; but by the antient Spirit and Resolution of that brave People, they have often proved our Deliverers, instead of being made the Instruments of our Slavery. This was our Case in the Reign of King Charles I. And in that of his Son, Charles II, the profess'd Design of the Court was to procure the absolute Submission of Scotland to the Royal Power, so that England might be the more easily managed. For this Purpose, the whole Power of Scotland was put into the Hands of Lauderdale; who, from being a rigid Presbyterian and a zealous Covenanter, became one of the most abject Tools of arbitrary Power, and a violent Persecutor of his Party. We are told that he had a general Knowledge of Languages and the Law, but neither

neither true Wisdom, nor a Grain of common Honesty; for he even promoted a *Rebellion* in that Kingdom to justify the Violences of his Administration. The Duke of *Buckingham* call'd him a Man of a *blundering Understanding*; and as to his Integrity, we have the Testimony of King *Charles* himself; who being asked *what he thought of Lauderdale*, after some Complaints against him had been heard in Privy-Council, answer'd, *That they had objected many damn'd Things, which he had done against the Country, but none against his Service.*

Fog's Journal, July 20. N^o 298.

'Squire Scrubb's Address to Fog.

Master Fog,

EXAMINE the Practice of the Moderns and you'll find, by comparing it with that of ancient Times, that the Populace have ever been the same: Unsteady, Ungrateful, Petulant; and either imperious Tyrants or most abject Slaves: They are so charmed with Novelty, that, as *Oliver Cromwel* said, upon being desired to remark the Acclamations of the People, the very same Mob, which shew'd so much Joy at the Sight of him, would, with as much Alacrity, huzza him to the Gallows. The Populace was never known to continue long in the same Way of Thinking; their Desires are as variable as the Wind, and scarce have they had the Accomplishment of a Wish, but they have repented they ever made it. It is for such as these, Mr. *Fog*, that you and I have suffered, and for whom you are still anxious.

I should think the little or no Fruits of your Labour, should at Length open your Eyes to the Unworthiness of your Clients, on the one Hand; and the Generosity of that *real Patriot*, whose Measures you have strenuously opposed, unveil 'em, on the other, to your own Interest. I acknowledge to you, that the Disregard shewn me, whom the Zeal of the Publick might (in a literal Sense) be said to have eaten up, made me reflect on the Nature of my Masters; and I was not long before I discovered that I was starving to purchase Soap for the Whitening the *Black-moor*; that I was endeavouring to cure a Man of a Fever, who would only look on the Medicines, and assent to the Excellency of my Prescriptions, but call for, and swallow a Bumper of Brandy.

Let us, for Argument Sake, Master *Fog*, suppose, (not that I can grant one Tittle of it, for I believe that Men in Place cannot err,) but let us suppose it however, that there was a Country in the World, where the Measures taken by some upstart Minister were destructive of the Constitution of his Country; that he had no Way to save himself, but by introduc-

cing a despotick Government therein; that he encouraged Irreligion and Luxury to enervate and impoverish the People, as Means absolutely necessary to the imposing the Yoke of Slavery upon them; that he prefer'd none in C—h or S—e, but the most profligate; that want of Conscience was a Recommendation to a B—k, and want of Sense to a P—t of

A Profit; that his N—ns in foreign Courts have made the Nation contemptible Abroad, subjected it to the Insults of its Neighbours, by which its Trade was greatly sunk and impair'd; that he was a blundering, ignorant, pretending, vain Man, as little vers'd in the different Interests of Nations, as acquainted with common Honesty; for that Reason, he

B was apprehensive of the Clear-sighted, and bars up every Way that leads to their Preference; suppose, that in his Treaties, Tinker-like, in botching one Hole, he made two; suppose that the Magistrates or the Guardians for the Peoples Liberties had been chosen and return'd by corrupt Methods, and that a Committee of these had been pick'd out to purge

C the Assembly of all, zealous for the Interest of their Country; that the Assembly being thus garbled, they might give all that the M—r could ask, and that the Consequence of such Complaisance, was the Downfall of all Liberty, and the Extirpation of P—ts. Suppose again, that all this happened to a brave and steady, generous, loyal People, as fond of their Prince as were our Countrymen the *Eng-*

D *lish*, in the Time of *Edward III*d, and as tenacious of their Rights as the same *English* in those of *John* and *Richard II*d, but oppress'd and kept down by the Hand of Power, and the execrable Arts of low Cunning; suppose, I say, what no Man of Sense can suppose, all these to be Facts, are they not sufficient Reasons to make a private Man desert the Cause of the Publick, without you will allow he must have less Sagacity than a Rat, which ever leaves a falling House and a leaky Ship?

E If Things were as bad with us as is here supposed of another Nation, which every Body knows is not the Case, which yet some Writers have endeavour'd to insinuate, they only gave a flagrant Mark of Stupidity, by opposing themselves to a Torrent, that is not to be stemm'd, and seem to struggle with Providence itself, in their Efforts to save a devoted Nation. I will remind you of a little Story which may not be *mal a propos*, according to your Notion of Affairs.

F A Batchelor, who liv'd like a Recluse in a little House, about two Miles from the Market-Town, had train'd up a Mastiff Dog to carry a Basket to the Butcher's, and return with the Meat he wrote for (in a Piece of Paper, which was fasten'd to it.) This Dog in passing thro' a Village that lay in his Way, was often attacked by the Currs belonging to it; but he, for a long while, proved too hard for

his Assailants, and carried home his Meat in Triumph. At length, all the Dogs combin'd to plunder him; and one Day, returning from Market, the whole Possé fell upon him; he defended his Trust long and bravely, but perceiving it impossible to get off with his Provision, he gave over the Fight, and took his Share of the Plunder.

But, Master Feg, if you could get the better of Pique and Resentment, which alone steel your Pen; if Disappointment would suffer you to open your Eyes to Truth and Virtue; Gratitude would change your Sarcasms into Encomiums, and your present Invectives would be turn'd to Panegyricks. Your weekly Endeavour, would be to make the People sensible of, and thankful for, our present happy and flourishing Situation, for our extended Trade, especially to the *Levant*, for the Plenty of Money observable throughout the Nation; for the Riches which we possess, for the near Prospect we have of diminishing our Taxes; for the Glory of our naval Expeditions, which speak our Power, and strike a Dread on our Neighbours; for, can any think meanly of a Nation which could at once set out three Fleets, to the *Mediterranean*, to the *Baltick*, and to the *West-Indies*, in which most renown'd Expeditions, indeed, we had the Misfortune to lose some thousands of Sailors, by *Sickness*? Was not our Fleet at *Spithead* a Manifestation of our Power? and is not, at present, the Fleet in the *Dorons* sufficient (without going farther) to humble the Pride of those, who rashly have dared to insult our Merchants?

We may say the *English* Name is now carried to the highest Pitch of Glory; the Terror of our Arms, and the Wisdom of our Counsels, are of equal Efficacy in the Affairs of *Europe*, which is embroiled in a most bloody War, while we enjoy all the Blessings of Peace, and sit Arbitrators of the Fate of Nations. And to whom do we owe this advantageous Situation, but to the Man, whom Disappointment would blacken to Posterity, but whose Virtues, Time will set in their just Point of Light, and deliver him down to future Ages, as a noble Pattern of publick Spirit?

Yours, &c. T. SCRUB.

Free Briton, July 25. N^o 247.

Of the Election of 16 Peers for North Britain, with some Account of the real Character of Duke Lauderdale. (See p. 371. G.)

I Demand (says *Walsingham*) by what Law, either positive or constructive, any *Privy-Counsellor* of Great Britain is incapacitated to advise, or confer with the *Peers* of North Britain, in the previous Agreement of a List of 16 Peers to be proposed as Candidates in the Election of Representatives for the Peerage of Scotland?

I will go so far as to suppose, that any *Privy-Counsellor*, call him the *Minister*, or any Thing else, actually wrote a Letter to every *Peer* of North Britain, representing it as his Opinion, that 16 noble Lords, therein specified, were Persons of undoubted Integrity, Ability, and good Affection to the united Interests of both Kingdoms, the *Protestant Religion*, and *Protestant Succession*; and, from Good-will to the common Cause, desiring that every Lord would employ his utmost Endeavours, in procuring the said 16 Peers to be chosen.

I carry this Supposition further than any Man ever suggested, to shew, that if more than they ever suggested was Fact, and a Letter from a Minister to every Lord of North Britain was read in Evidence before the House of Peers, it neither would nor ought, by any Construction of Law or Reason, to vitiate the Return of 16 Representatives chosen by open Election and Plurality of Voices, according to the Act for the Union of both Kingdoms.

Another Objection to the Regularity of this Proceeding, is the old, stale hackney'd Topic of Corruption, which Mr. Addison, in his *Freeholder's Answer to the Pretender's Declaration*, calls the thread-bare Clamour of every Minority within the Memory of Man. I might put it to the Consciences of every one on the other Side of the Question, that they themselves do not believe there ever was in Scotland, under any Reign or Ministry, a more uncorrupt Election; or that any former Representative of the Peerage was more duly chosen; or that the Act of Union itself was more free, regular, and unbiassed, than this very Election of 16 Peers, Representatives of that Kingdom.

The Craftsman having mentioned Duke Lauderdale's Administration, *Walsingham* therefore gives the following Account of him, that People may judge, whether any Man living can be honestly placed in the Light of Similitude with him.

He was, says *Burnet*, haughty beyond Expression. He had a Violence of Passion that carried him often to Fits like Madness. He delivered himself up to Luxury and Sensuality, by which Means he run into a vast Expence, and stuck at nothing that was necessary to support it.

It is further said of him, that he was a great Approver of Assassinations. *Burnet* says, that when he came down into Scotland, in 1672, he took such Pleasure in talking of the Butchery of John de Wit and his Brother, that it could not be heard without Horror.

He rejected all Advice in a brutal Manner, saying, Men durst as well be damn'd as oppose him; his Way was to govern by Fits, and to pass from hot to cold ones, always in Extremes. He screened the *Papists*; offered the King to bring an Army out of Scotland,

C c c

to seize *Newcastle*, and support a most wicked and violent Counsel of taking the Members out of both Houses of Parliament, even by Force of Arms.

In *Scotland* he drew a Letter from the King, wherein, by open Dint of arbitrary Power, he turned out 12 of the chief Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, and declared them incapable of all publick Trusts. His Behaviour there was so violent and illegal, that many, from the strange Administration they were under, grew weary of their Country, and even of their Lives. If he, or any of his Party, brought a Complaint against any Man, how false or frivolous soever, they were summoned before the Council, and upon the slightest Pretences fined and imprisoned. When very illegal Things were to be done, his Method was this; a Letter was drawn for it to be signed by the King, directing it upon some Colour of Law or antient Practice: The King signed whatever was thus sent him: And when his Letter was read in Council, if any of the Lawyers or others of the Board objected to it, he was brow-beaten, as a Man that opposed the King's Service, and refused to obey his Orders.

He required all the Landlords of the *Scottish Western Counties*, to enter into Bonds for the Behaviour of themselves, their Wives, Children, Servants, and all who lived upon their Estates, that they should not resort to Conventicles. Upon their refusing this, he writ to the King, that the Country was in a State of Rebellion, and that Hostilities were necessary to reduce them. The King gave him Power to reduce them as he pleased. He sent Cannon, and ordered Troops, even 8000 to live among them at free Quarter. And tho' such Bonds were illegal and unjust, since no Man could be bound for Tenants and Servants, because every Tenant and Servant would thereby have had it in his Power to ruin him, yet he was in such a Phrensy, that, at the Council-Table, he made his Arms bare above the Elbows, and swore by his God *Jehovah*, that he would make them enter into those Bonds.

He summoned the chief Men of the Country before a Committee of Council, and, by the Practice of a Court of Inquisition, made them purge themselves by Oath, of whatever Crimes he was pleased to charge them with. He issued Writs at the King's Suit against the whole Country, obliging the Head of every Household to give Security for the Behaviour of every one therein, and by his own arbitrary Power put in Prison those who refused to give it.

In short, to shew what Wickedness the Man was capable of doing, I will only mention the Case of *Mitchell*, whom, upon a sacred Promise of the King's Pardon, and a solemn Assurance that nothing he said should ever appear in Evidence against his Life, he drew in to make a criminal Confession, which

Promise and Assurance were retorded in the Council-Books, and signed by the Lord President; yet did he prosecute *Mitchell* on this very Confession; gave it on his Oath in the Court of Justice, that he never made any such Promise and Assurance; had the Man condemned to Death; went up after the Trial into the Room over the Court, saw the Promise on Record, which he had disclaimed on his Oath of Evidence; and, after all this astonishing Wickedness, compleated it by putting the Man to Death.

This is the Account of that Duke *Lauderdale*, whose Practices the *Craftsman* suggests to be now carried on, and his personal Qualities to be represented by somebody in *Scotland*. Let all Men judge of his Honesty and Veracity from this enormous Instance of his Deficiency in both: And when they find any one Act of *Lauderdale's* Administration to have been revived in *Scotland*, or any one Quality of *Lauderdale's* Character in any of his Majesty's Ministers there, they may hold the Election of the sixteen Peers a Nullity.

Craftsman, July 27. N^o 421.

Of the English Representative.

THERE is no Part of the Transactions in the English History (says a Correspondent of *D'Anvers's*) more universally condemn'd than the Usurpation of *Cromwel*. That it was wicked is undeniable, and as such ought to be abhorred by all just Men; yet there is nothing in the Nature of Things, which hinders an Usurper from governing mildly, and suffering his illegal Power to be limited by wise and good Restraints. *Cromwel*, as to his Government, was strict and rigid; but yet he consented to greater Limitations of Power than every one would have expected from him; for by the Instrument of Government, made in 1653, which constituted him Protector, he could not dissolve any Parliament once met till they had sat 5 Months; and such Bills as should be presented to him by the Parliament, if they should not be confirm'd by him in 20 Days, were to pass without him into Laws. By the Act, called the humble Petition and Advice, passed in the Year 1657, he consented, among other Things, to these Restrictions, viz.

' That he would call a Parliament once in a Year at farthest, to be legally chosen by a free Election.

' That none should be added, or admitted to be of the Privy Council, without the Consent of the rest of the Council, and who should afterwards be approved of by both Houses of Parliament.

' That the Members of the Council should not be removed but by Consent of Parliament; (except that, in the Intervals of Parliament, a Member of the Council might be suspended from the Exercise of his Place for just Cause.)

' That

‘ That the *standing Forces* should be dispos’d of by the *chief Magistrate*, with the Consent of *both Houses of Parliament*, (except in the *Intervals of Parliament*, by the *chief Magistrate*, with the Advice of the *Council*.)
 ‘ That the *Chancellor*, *Keeper of the Great Seal*, *Treasurer*, or *Commissioner of Treasury*, *Admiral*, *chief Governor of Ireland*, the *Chancellor and Commissioner of the Great Seal in Ireland*, *chief Justices of both Benches*, *chief Baron in England* and *Ireland*, *Commander in chief of the Forces in Scotland*, and the *Judges in Scotland* should be approved of by *both Houses of Parliament*.’

And by the *explanatory Petition and Advice*, pass’d in the *same Parliament*, Part of the Oath, which every Member was to take, ran in these Words, ‘ That he would endeavour, as much as in him lay, the Preservation of the *Rights and Liberties of the People*.’

These Limitations, I say, were more than could be expected from a Man, who had usurp’d the sovereign Authority by such Means; and the punctual Observation of them would have made his Government tolerable; but the Misfortune was, as it too often happens, that when he had secur’d himself in the Possession of Power, he forgot the Conditions, on which he had solemnly promis’d to exercise it.

There was another Regulation made in those Times, as to the *Elections of Parliament*, which our noble Historian, L. Clarendon, seems to approve. Take it in his own Words; (Vol. III. p. 386.) ‘ Tho’ he, [i. e. Cromwell] did not observe the old Course, in sending Writs out to all the *little Boroughs* throughout *England*, which used to send *Burgesses*, (by which Method some *single Counties* send more Members than *six other Counties* do) he thought he took a more equal Way by appointing more *Knights for every Shire* to be chosen, and fewer *Burgesses*; whereby the Number of the whole was lessened; and yet the People being left to their own *Election*, it was not by him thought an ill Temperament, and was generally look’d on as an Alteration fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better Time.’

Mr. Rapin agrees with L. Clarendon in this; for he tells us that this Regulation, which was just in itself, met with a general Approbation; and his Translator observes, in a marginal Note, ‘ that it would have been well for *England* had this Regulation been always kept to; the *little insignificant Boroughs* being omitted, and the Number of the *Knights of the Shire* increas’d from 4 to 12, according to the Extent of the County.’

I have no other Design in these Quotations than to shew the Opinion of three indifferent Writers, concerning the Sense of the People, and to amuse myself in computing what the Share of each County would be in the Representation, did they send Members in Proportion to their Wealth. Upon this, I have formed

a Table, one Column shewing the Number of Members each County does now send, another Column shewing the Number each County would send, if they sent in Proportion to the Land Tax they pay; but as the Land Tax is very unequal, so a Proportion formed by that Rule would still be unequal; for which Reason, I have formed a third Column, moderating the Difference between the other two, not merely by Guess, but by a Rule, that certainly abates the Error in every Instance; but, for Want of a true Rental of *England*, it is impossible to make it exact, nor is a strict Exactness of Importance.

Names of the Counties now sends. Numbers each County in Proportion to the Land Tax. Numbers as by a moderate Estimate.

B	Edf.	4	7	6
B	Berks	9	10	9
	Bucks	14	12	12
C	Cambr.	6	8	6
	Cheshire	4	7	6
C	Cornwall	44	8	21
	Cumberl.	6	1	3
C	Derbysh.	4	6	6
	Devonsh.	26	21 $\frac{1}{4}$	24
C	Dorsetsh.	20	9	12
	Durham	4	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	3
C	Essex	8	23	18
	Gloucestr.	8	12	9
C	Hampsh.	26	14	18
	Hereford.	8	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	6
D	Hertford.	6	11	9
	Hunting.	4	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3
D	Kent	18	21	18
	Lancashire	14	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	9
D	Leicester.	4	9	6
	Lincolnsh.	12	18	15
D	London	4	31	21
	Inns of Court, White-Hall and St. James’s	3	8	6
E	Westmin.	2	16	9
	Middlesex	2	27	18
E	Monm.	3	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3
	Norfolk	12	21	18
E	Northam.	9	12	12
	Northum.	8	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	6
E	Nottingh.	8	7	7
	Oxfordsh.	9	10	9
F	Rutland.	2	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	3
	Shropshire	12	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	9
F	Somerset.	18	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	18
	Staffordsh.	10	7	9
F	Suffolk	16	19	18
	Surrey	14	16 $\frac{1}{2}$	15
F	Sussex	28	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	18
	Warwick.	6	10	9
G	Worcest.	9	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	9
	Wiltshire	34	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	24
G	Westmor.	4	1	3
	Yorkshire	30	24 $\frac{1}{4}$	27
G	Wales	24	18	23
		513		513

From this Computation it appears how very unequally the Election of Members to serve the Commons in Parliament is at present proportioned to the *Wealth* of different Counties, and the *Taxes* they pay. But to prevent all captious Exceptions and little Cavils, I must repeat my Declaration that I have no other View in this Letter than to evince the Reasonableness of your late Distinction between the *Members for those little Boroughs*, which *Bp. Burnet* calls the rotten Part of our Constitution, and the *Knights of the Shires*, or Representatives of great trading Towns; for tho' I may be allowed to agree with *L. Clarendon*, *Mr. Rapin* and other Writers, in wishing that some Regulation of this Kind had been continued at the *Restoration*, or renewed at the *Revolution*, when the People were under a Necessity of resorting to the first Principles of Government, and had a Right to the Redress of all their Grievances; I say, tho' we may be allowed to wish this, I am very far from designing to propose any such Alteration at present, when the Power of the People is not in their own Hands, and the very Attempt might give our Enemies an Advantage over us. It would now be called a Design to remove *Foundations*, to subvert the *Constitution*, and introduce a new Form of Government; as we have lately seen in some other Attempts, of the same Kind, to secure the *Freedom and Independency of Parliament*, both within Doors and without.

Fog's Journal, July 27. N^o 299.

A Precedent for Ministers, with a Caution to Fog.

S I R,

I Have heard that the Judgments in our Courts of Law, are very often, or for the most Part, determined by prior Judgments in similar Cases; which are collected in the Law Books, called Reports, and that, these Reports, are studied, by those, who design for the Bar, as containing in a great Measure the whole Body of the Law. In a Word, that the Judges and Lawyers are guided by Precedents, the Opinions of able Judges and Lawyers, who have gone before them, and no Judgment can be censured, which is supported by such Precedents.

Now, Master Fog, why should not a Minister of State be allowed the same Advantage? Why should not his Conduct be justified by Precedents; if such Precedents are of wise and great Men, whether Princes or Ministers, who have either kept themselves, or entrusted others with the Helm of Government? It is very hard, Master Fog, that a Judge, who is to decide between private Parties, shall have a Rule to walk by, which, if observed, shall set him above Danger, and out

of the Reach of Censure: And that he, who has the Management of the Interest of the whole collective Body of the People, notwithstanding he can prove his Conduct consonant with that of the great Men, who have in former Times, filled the same Posts, shall be exposed to the *Sarcasms* and invidious Reflections of such inveterate Pens as yours and the *Craftsman*, and be compelled to give a weekly Account for his Conduct. In this Point, I myself cannot but blame the great Man for too great a Condescension, his best Way of answering your *Invectives* would be by Contempt; indeed he partly shews how mean an Opinion he has of you, by employing the most wretched Tools, the most despicable Writers that could be found for Love or Money to enter the List against you and the *Craftsman*, and I apprehend, for this Reason, I shall prove a *Voluntier* without Pay.

But to return; is there any one Particular in all the Time of a certain great Man's A—n, for which he cannot shew Precedents enough to justify himself, and satisfy the Publick? This I acknowledge he is not obliged to do, the diffus'd Publick is too much below a great Man's Notice, and he, as are the Judges, is accountable to Parliament only, before which, you, the *Craftsman*, your Aiders and Abettors, have been often dared to lay the pretended Grievances of the People: But, let us look back into the Actions of former M—rs, let us examine their Views; their Conduct; let us look into our political Reports, I mean History, and I don't question but you will find the great Man so well supported by Precedents, that if you have any Shame left, you will for the future give over your pretended Zeal for the Publick, and make the same Use of it, as all wise Men have done, and ever will do; for between you and me, Master Fog, the Publick is no more than a Beast of Burthen, which is dangerous only when not loaded; like the Mind of Man, if not employ'd, it will turn to Mischief, rather than lie idle. This was perfectly well understood, by *Henry IV.* whose Crown they put on with Joy, and would have pulled off again with the same Alacrity; but were soon convinc'd they had not a *Richard* the Second to deal with.

Having mentioned this Prince, I think the present Situation of Affairs (which you and some others will have to be entirely owing to the consummate Wisdom of the P—e M—r) cannot be better illustrated than by a Retrospection into his Reign; and I rather chuse to do it, as he (*Henry IV.*) was his own Minister, as it is a Maxim in our Law, that the King can do no Wrong; and if we find the Conduct of the present great Man justified by the Precedents of that *Quondam great Prince*, I think it will be needless for the future to say any Thing in Defence of the former. The

The first Act of Power in the Reign of Henry IV. stops the Mouths of all who grumble at the Septennial Act. For he, by his own Authority, empowered the Representatives in Parliament, who met by Virtue of the Writs issued by Richard II. together with the House of Lords, to be a new Parliament. Forbearance and long Suffering were distinguishable in Henry IV. yet no Prince was braver in his Person, by the unanimous Testimony of Historians; but he, for the most Part, chain'd up the Lyon, and let loose the Fox. He was too politick a Prince, to knock his Subjects o' th' Head, when he could, *viâ Negotiationis*, do his Business quietly; he weigh'd Things with Deliberation, proceeded with Calmness, and acted prudently according to the Situation of Affairs. Of this there are several Instances, for Example, the Scots seizing upon Werck Castle was a greater Affront than the Spaniards taking our Merchants Ships, yet he prudently left all Differences to a Negotiation; another Precedent which has been wisely followed by the great Man at the Helm, and which will, by the Successes of the Commissioners empowered to demand, adjust, and receive Satisfaction, add new Lustre to his Name, for he knew the Spaniards too haughty a Nation to admit of such an *Inquisition*, did they not dread the Consequences of our M—r's Resentment.

Now, my Quondam Friend, can you give a Precedent of any one Man of Sense, continuing as you do, to hazard your Ears or Neck to no Manner of Purpose; for you must be convinced, that five Pieces of Gold is of greater Efficacy than fifty Sheets of *Rhetorick*? Take Advice, and seize old *Chronos* by the Fore-Lock, dine now and then with me on the fresh Air by the Temple Fountain, meditate on the Advice given by the Dial, *Nunc est Tempus acceptabile, festina & salva-re*, recover from your romantick Notions; chew the Cud of Understanding, and take Care of one; for if you really believe your own Writings you must be as mad as the Man, who, in a Shipwreck, would needs drown for Company, tho' he might have escaped, and have got more of the Merchant's Goods than he lost of his own. What can be your Views in continuing your Weekly Animadversions on the Conduct of not only the wisest, but the *greatest* Man of the Age? Take Care his Lenity does not prove fatal to you and your Party — it is not impossible it may be all Grimace: that he intends to make a Tool of you, and you are labouring to raise his Character as a Politician, while you think you are fixing on him that of a Blunderer. Depend upon it, he either despises your Rage, or hopes to catch you napping.

TIMOTHY SCRUBE.

Weekly Miscellany, July 27. N° 85.

A grand Argument for Infidelity answer'd.

A S I was musing the other Day on the late Writings of the Infidels, I observed, that the Argument against Christianity, which they mightily insist upon, is this; that it is a *needless* and *useless* Institution, and for that Reason cannot proceed from God, who does nothing in vain: In Support of which they say thus; 'That if it were at all *necessary* and *useful*, it was *equally so* in all Ages, and *would therefore have been equally communicated* to all Men alike; and not have been *deferred* for 4000 Years to the Time of *Tiberius*, or have been revealed to a small *Part of Men only*, exclusively of the rest: *This is inconsistent with God's impartial and universal Goodness.*

B This is the Argument, Mr. Hooker, which I observed to reign in the Writings of the Infidels. It is a favourite Topick, which they harangue upon, often, and much. There is something plausible and popular in it, which has taken perhaps with some unwary Readers, who don't examine Things to the Bottom; but it is in Reality nothing more, than a Composition of *false Fact*, and *false Logick*. These are the two Ingredients of which it consists, as will plainly appear from the following Considerations.

D 1st, The Light of the Gospel was not *totally* withheld from Men for 4000 Years, or its Publication *absolutely* deferred to the Time of *Tiberius*; but it was all along *gradually* revealed quite down from the Fall of Man.

E 2^{dly}, The Benefits of it extend to all the Sons of *Adam*; to those who lived before the Time of *Tiberius*, as well as to those who have lived since. This is plainly asserted in Scripture. We read, that *as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive*: That is, as all Men are subject to Death thro' *Adam's* Disobedience, so all Men shall be raised from the Dead thro' the Merits of Christ.

F 3^{dly}, Hence it is plain, that the Gospel, considered as a Covenant, has been *equally communicated to all Men alike*; and that the Publication of it, at the Time, and in the Manner in which it was done, has put no other Difference or Inequality among Men, but only this, that they, to whom it has been revealed, are placed in a higher Order of Service, and in a Capacity for a higher Reward than other Men.

G 4^{thly}, This Difference or Inequality among Men, is none other than what arises proportionably from the *different* natural Endowments, and the *different* Opportunities of improving them, which God distributes to them. It is evident, that he does not grant *equally to all Men* the same Advantages, or make them *equally*

equally capable of the same Degree of Perfection and Happiness, but deals *variously with them*, according to his good Pleasure. Some do as much exceed others in Sense and Understanding, as they are themselves surpassed by the Angels; and the first Rate of Men are as much superior to the lowest in natural Abilities, as these are to the Brute Creation: So likewise there is a vast Difference in the Opportunities that Men severally have of improving their natural Powers. Now this Inequality among Men, is a Means of *different Degrees* of moral Perfection, and therefore of *Happiness suitable to them*.

If indeed it were said, that Christians only could be saved, or that those, who never heard of *Christ*, whether *Pagans*, or *Jews*, should be damned, I know not how it could be reconciled with God's *impartial* and *universal* Goodness, that he should reveal the Gospel in the Manner he has done. But to say that Christians are so far distinguished from other Men, as to be capable of a *higher Reward*, thro' a *higher Service*, is to say only, that God hath acted in this Case, as he does in others.

Lastly, It may be considered, that the Advantages which some Men enjoy above others, by Virtue either of their *natural Endowments* or of *supernatural Light*, are so many Talents for which they are accountable. *Much will be required of those, to whom much is given*. Where the Advantages are greater, there the *Obligations* and *Danger* are greater in Proportion; and where the Advantages are smaller, there so much the less is required, and the less also is the Hazard.

Thus it appears, Mr. Hooker, that the Argument against Christianity, so often urged by the Infidels, has no Weight at all. It is more weak, if possible, than their Prejudice is strong, or their Confidence great. The Gospel has not been equally communicated to all Men; therefore it is not all needful or useful; therefore it cannot proceed from God. That is to say, internal or external Advantages are not equally communicated to all Men; therefore they are not all needful or useful; therefore they cannot proceed from God.

Universal Spectator, July 27. N^o 303.

Of knowing one's self.

THE chief Knowledge we should have an Ambition to attain, should be the *Knowledge of Ourselves*, which, tho' it is the most necessary, is the least studied, for that is neglected as too trifling, tho' without it

we cannot know what is good or evil for us, with Respect to our Condition, our Age, and the Persons with whom we live, nor be able to perform the Duties we owe them.

A Men generally think that they are too well acquainted with their own Hearts, to be Strangers to them: They are generally acquainted with nothing less: They are in nothing more frequently mistaken than in the Judgment they make of their own Way of Thinking: They flatter themselves with good Sense, good Humour, and Impartiality, but are ignorant of their real Levity, their morose Humours, and unjust Disguists.

To come at this Knowledge, we should, from the Examples of the World, draw parallel Instances to ourselves, and gain that by Reflection which without communing with our Hearts, we shall never possess. When we see *Drances*, who almost from the Dregs of the People is grown considerable, is grown also proud, insolent, disdainful, we should search ourselves, if a proportionable Alteration in our Fortunes might not give us a great Share in that Pride which in *Drances* we now so much condemn; and whether, with that good Humour we now think ourselves Masters of, we might still please all Persons, and in a State of Prosperity, still preserve a Decency and Complaisance.

To arrive at Impartiality enough to make such Sort of Scrutiny, requires some *Thinking*; for the World is full of People, who in making a Comparison of themselves with others, always decide in Favour of their own Merit, and act accordingly. *Harry Trifle* would be a Wit, therefore imitated *Eugenio* to be one; he thinks he now has rival'd him; he compares every smart Thing *Eugenio* says with something he himself has said on the same Subject, but never determines in Prejudice to his own Parts: Every one laughs at *Trifle* for a *Coxcomb*, and he still takes Care to be laugh'd at.

There is one Set of Men whom one would think *knew themselves* perfectly, at the same Time they are intirely ignorant; who frankly confess their Imperfections tho' they do not once imagine that in Reality they have any. *Foppington* will often cry out, *Well, Rat me, if I am not one of the dullest, ignorantest Puppies*.—He is so.—*Drybones* laughs, and tells his Friends, he may be safely trusted with their Wives, for he's *past it*.—*Drybones* for the World would not be thought so, but judge if he speaks not true.—He is *past Threescore*. *Niger* calls himself *Poor*, and *Witwou'd* terms himself a *Blockhead*.—Every Body knows them so.

On a celebrated young Lady at Leeds.

SHE who has seen the world, and thinks
it vain,
Is of a spirit humble, but not mean;
Whose beauty, such as my own taste admires,
From me no other character requires; [ear
Whose tongue (sweet musick!) charms the nicest
With wit that's fine and lively, not severe;
Who in the elegance of breeding shines,
And every other female charm refines;
In whom those characters, so pleasing, meet,
Softly majestic, and genteely sweet;
Chearful, not light; and courteous, tho' sincere;
And not too prone, too much to wish, or fear;
Whose passions all in even currents flow,
And neither swell too high, nor sink too low;
Who would afford as much connubial bliss,
As thought can fancy, or the heart can wish:
Let her be mine, if such a one there be;
And such a one there is—and ———'s she.

Verses on a young Lady, grown vain and conceited of her Beauty, and complaining of the Loss of her Admirers.

THAT, once the pleasing sight of every eye,
You now, dear Lucia, pass unheeded by,
Complain not, do not wonder; we're the same;
In you's the change, in you alone the blame;
The change in that dear beauteous face we find
Is wrought by an unhappy change of mind.
Tis there that vain, conceited thoughts within,
Stamp their dire image on the lovely mien,
And put out all the charms so oft with rapture
seen.
See then the cause your charms are fled away;
With affectation beauty will not stay.
If you wou'd charm us, as you charm'd before,
Aim not at charming, and be vain no more.
The unaffected fair one charms with ease,
And pleases most, when she forgets to please.

To the Right Hon. Henry Bromley, Esq; An
Epistle, in Praise of Cambridge.

WITH candour deign, O Bromley, to
peruse
This trifle of his too advent'rous muse,
Who first upon the banks of winding Cam
Catch'd but a spark of that celestial flame,
Which in her Milton's breast once burnt so pure
That its remains through ages shall endure:
Near venerable elms here Cowley stray'd,
Courting the nine beneath their pleasing shade:
Here Dryden, who on ev'ry subject shone,
Was first inspir'd, and first eulogiums won:
Here he whose Alma and the Nutbrown Maid
Procur'd him laurels which can never fade:
Here Garth, in diff'rent arts to Phœbus dear,
His numbers polish'd, and made science clear:
Here first the noble Montague, when young,
Of Charles's death and Anna's nuptials sung;
But after on a throne more lofty try'd,
Nallau in arms, and Boyn all crimson dy'd;

* The Recoinage. † King's College Chapel. ‡ Henry VI. § Sir Robert Smyth.

Then threw aside the lyre, with bays thus crown'd,
In scenes of bus'ness since not less renown'd,
When he that * project form'd, of so much weight,
Which in its utmost peril sav'd the state:
When these examples I revolve in mind,
My want of energy I quickly find;
Tho' emulation rises in my breast,
By cares my genius is too much depress'd;
Else would I celebrate each awful seat
To learning sacred, and each close retreat
For contemplation fit, fair Granta's pride,
Where studious some, some argue, some decide:
Where knowledge is acquir'd—where first the plan
In youth is laid, which dignifies the man.
That † structure first my notice would invite,
When distant far conspicuous by its height.
Beneath its roof stupendous when I pass,
See its strong walls, and beauteous tinctur'd glass,
When on its consecrated ground I tread,
Hear anthems sung, or solemn service read,
Such extasies, as I can scarce controul,
Quickly invade and captivate my soul.
This royal building, rear'd by ‡ Henry's zeal,
Ere civil discord rent the commonweal,
Must surely cause the Muses to regret
His dire misfortunes, and lament his fate;
Yet let them not too much indulge their grief,
Since what must joy afford, affords relief.
To him this college has a rightful claim,
Distinguish'd most in the white lists of fame,
Applauded man! who in the highest trust
His sovereign serves, is to his country just;
He when impending storms Britannia fear'd,
While low'ring clouds dismal all round appear'd,
And traitors, by their machinations vile,
Had near to ruin brought this pow'rful isle,
In senates oft, with eloquence most rare,
Rais'd sanguine hope from depths of black despair:
For this, when Brunswick first the throne obtain'd,
Rewards and honours merited be gain'd:
For this the silver star shines on his breast,
Of worth and gratitude at once the test.
A neighb'ring edifice next strikes my view,
Which boasts of Hervey, Newcastle. and you;
All like Mæcenæ blest with lib'ral bearts,
Like him all prone to cherish finest arts:
Much could I here expatiate in your praise,
But such efforts your modesty gainsays:
How as a senator, with reasoning strong,
In nice debates you sep'rate right from wrong;
Or how that shire you guard, and most adorn,
In which I, meanest of her sons, was born;
To tell while I'm by inclination led,
Your anger here, and only here I dread.
But I must speak your elegance of taste,
And how the classics oft are your repast:
In Holfet's verdant park whene'er you roam,
With such companions as are § Smyth and Seame,
Enraptur'd all with Virgil's sublime thought,
Or sweetest odes which charming Horace wrote.
But bold!—from Granta I have wander'd quite,
Where other domes encomiums will excite:

Its theatre demands the foremost place,
 In which we may unnumber'd beauties trace;
 Princes and nobles here wou'd in expence,
 Who most shou'd add to its magnificence:
 Near this the publick library contains
 Of antient Greece and Rome the rich remains,
 And wbat'er modern history supplies,
 Recording actions of the brave and wise:
 This large collection, once a prelate's care,
 A monarch's bounty will no less declare,
 And wboe'er sees the vast donation here,
 His memory ought always to revere.
 Saint John's most spacious and extensive courts,
 To which th' enquiring traveller resorts;
 While Marg'ret Tudor's piety they shew,
 At the same time delight in every view.
 Not far from hence, near to the river's side
 Whose crystal streams through vales enamel'd glide,
 Magd'len appears, greatly by time impair'd,
 Its drooping tow'rs claim therefore less regard;
 Yet by the kind bequest of Pepys, within
 Inestimable literature is seen,
 Volumes collected with the utmost skill
 In various languages shelve various fill.
 Here too chalcography presents to sight
 A thousand forms,—some rough, some sweet and
 bright;
 Resemblances exact of young and old,
 Whom tombs enclose the opening leaves unfold;
 Stern warriors, blooming belles, and sages learn'd,
 Thus from oblivion rescu'd are discern'd.
 Retiring hence, Emanuel will impart
 Equal surprize from Amiconi's art.
 Near to its holy altar see how shine
 The several parts of his well judg'd design,
 Colours so blended from his pencil flow,
 A groupe of figures seems with life to glow;
 See in the prodigal, on his reclaim,
 For conduct past, how blush his cheeks with shame.
 See in the parent fond, when he returns,
 His eyes how sparkling, how with joy he burns.
 Not so the elder son, he looks sedate,
 As if he thought the favours shewn too great.
 In all their features finely is express'd
 What different passions reign in every breast;
 Having thus amply gratify'd desire,
 Away I range, and view each glitt'ring spire,
 Observe new fabricks rise with every grace,
 And yearly add new lustre to the place.
 Columns with decorations fit ascend,
 While arches wide with due proportion bend.
 Bear me, O bear me to adjacent fields,
 There boundless transport the full prospect yields;
 Or let me only walk from street to street,
 Still what's august, or delicate I meet.
 Here Trinity can never be survey'd,
 But our Eighth Henry's grandeur is display'd:
 While its fair chapel, quadrangle, and hall,
 For each spectator's admiration call:
 They thro' a vista here which charms the eye,
 That sumptuous gate, which you bestow'd, descry;
 Or else they gaze with wonder on that pile,
 Which was Wren's exquisite and curious toil:

These walls in his first years a Newton grac'd,
 Who nature thro' her secret mazes trac'd;
 And while his works to'er Eutopet his make known;
 Has high rais'd England's glory with his own.
 Other foundations here in splendour stand,
 From which have ris'n the worthies of the land:
 Sidney may well exult, that he wou'd shew
 Nature's religion in a light so true,
 By his delineation just and fair,
 Commenc'd his studies, and first flourish'd there.
 Since Reynolds happily expounds our laws,
 And in the court presides with all applause;
 Since with such equity he frames decrees
 As scarcely can the losers selves dispense;
 By Queen's it is the highest honour deem'd,
 He there was bred, who's every where esteem'd.
 In Cath'rine-Hall instructed first was he,
 Who with much lustre now fills Sarum's see,
 Whose oratory fine, and nervous sense,
 Exerted oft in liberty's defence,
 For welfare of mankind, give him a place
 With Sidney, Lock, and all the patriot race.
 Oh! that the Muse knew how with ease to soar,
 Your lov'd Clare-Hall she'd mention then once
 more.

Then Tillotson wou'd be her fav'rite choice,
 Of him she wou'd attempt to raise her voice;
 But his desert she'd try to sing in vain,
 Too faint her words, too low her loftiest strain.
 Of Caius shou'd we only this remark,
 Can praise be greater? — it produc'd a Clarke;
 Search where we will, few, very few we meet,
 In life so strict, in learning so compleat;
 The sacred oracles he well explor'd,
 Doctrines abstruse explain'd, lost truths restor'd;
 By full conviction made the atheist yield,
 And from disputing scepticks won the field:
 With veneration therefore he is nam'd,
 By his immortal labours ever fam'd.
 If we look back to a preceding age,
 When martyrs fell by bigotry and rage,
 Our Alma Mater confessors supply'd,
 Whose constancy in all degrees was try'd;
 Cranmer and Ridley suffer'd in the flame,
 Which was, and e'er will be Maria's shame;
 Lights of the reformation first they stood,
 Then seal'd its truth both with their dying blood;
 Those colleges to which they once were dear,
 Jesus and Pembroke, owe them every tear.
 Some other structures, and illustrious men,
 Might here exact just tribute from my pen;
 But chiefly those who piles vouchsaf'd to raise,
 From * Hugo Balsham's down to these our days,
 Had not I too much trespass'd on your time,
 In spiritless and disproportion'd rhyme.

* The Founder of Peter-House, the oldest
 College in the University.

On a Lady patching herself.

THE conscious fair-one knowing well
 The many charms that with her dwell,
 How they, intolerably bright,
 Do dazzle and confound our sight;

In pity to our weaker sense
 Press'd with too strong an influence,
 Corrects their power, abates their rays,
 Herself in milder light displays;
 And there, and there in the fair face,
 A charm eclipses, hides a grace.
 Thanks to the fair-one. Now our eye,
 When charms are hid, can charms espy.
 A little darkness helps our sight,
 Who were made blind by too much light.
 Thus 'tis we see not happiness
 In a continu'd flow of bliss,
 That we life's pleasures seldom taste
 Till clouds the lovely scene o'ercast;
 Till spotted ills in the fair mirror rise,
 And teach us, by our pains, to know our joys.

On the Ladies bathing in the Sea at Scarborough.
 By a Gentleman of Oxford.

THAT from the sea, the bards of old
 have sung,
 Venus, the queen of love and beauty, sprung,
 That on its curling waves the am'rous tide,
 Safe waisted her to shore in all its pride;
 Soft pleasure revell'd thro' the Cyprian grove,
 And gladden'd nature bail'd the queen of love:
 Knowing it false, charm'd with the pleasing tale,
 We praise the fiction being told so well.
 But when on Scarb'rough's sands the British fair,
 Safe in the flood the curling surges dare;
 When here so many queens of love we see
 Bath in the waves, and wanton in the sea,
 We justly, Scarb'rough, bless thy happier shore,
 And bid the fabling poets lye no more;
 In madness they their fancy'd Venus drew,
 Of these we feel the pow'r, and know it true.
 No more then, poets, in romantick strain,
 One Venus call, when here so many reign;
 No more invoke her from her Cyprian grove,
 But henceforth Scarb'rough be the seat of love.

From — of — College, Cambridge,
 to E. B. of the Inner Temple, Esq; A fa-
 miliar Epistle.

AS freshmen, who are not so pat in
 Their Heereboord and logic latin,
 Yet wou'd of reason be definers,
 Begin with majors and with minors;
 But then in them spend so much sense,
 They quite forget the consequence:
 Or (lest you think me quite grown frantic,
 To lugg in simile pedantic)
 As on a Sunday rambling cit
 In haste besrides his hackney tit,
 But when he's mounted on his horse,
 Knows not which way to steer his course;
 At last he kicks with armed heel,
 And lets nag take which road he will,
 So that he rides, and still spurs on,
 Or how, or where, to him's all one.

* A Cambridge Term for playing the Fool.

Thus I begin in haste to write,
 Tho' know not what next to indite;
 But having rashly got astride
 My Pegasus, I needs must ride;
 And spurring on in jingling rhyme,
 Jog in the dogg'rel road of rhyme:
 That is in English, plain and better,
 As I've begun, must end my letter.
 But lest you think all this is farce,
 And I'm * rosmatt'ring you in verse,
 I'll curb the airy steed awhile,
 And thus go on in formal style.

Dear Ned, yours I receiv'd, whose date
 Was of last June the twenty eight,
 Which brought me services by dozens
 From all my loving aunts and cozens,
 In which you wish by way of hint,
 And vow there is no danger in't,
 I'd let you know what life I lead,
 What are my principles and creed.

Returning then my love to all
 Friends round the dome of good St. Paul;
 And not forgetting out o' scorn, Sir,
 My friend Trunkmaker at the corner;
 As few rhimes as I can to waste,
 I gladly to the business haste.

Imprimis then, when chapel bell
 Wakes me at six, with dreary knell;
 When Kitty at my bedside cries,
 Sir,---Sir,---it rings to pray'rs,---d'ye rise?
 I start up in my bed amain,
 Then--calmly lay me down again,
 And sleep--and doze--and dream till ten;
 Not those your mad poetic dreams,
 Of bubbling brooks and purling streams;
 Not thro' the flow'ry meads to rove,
 As poets fancy when they love;
 But with a custom better boasted,
 Dream of the girls I last night teased:
 And let these dreams continue still,
 Chloe, coquet as you will.

At ten I wake, slip on my gown,
 And to my breakfast sit me down,
 Where, o'er my elemental tea,
 I dip into philosophy;
 And while the lines and curves I mangle,
 Just learn a circle's not an angle:
 O'tner in Flaccus' odes divine,
 I read of joys, of love and wine;
 But ne'er look at emending notes,
 Which † B--tl--y at his peril quotes;
 For maugre all that B--tl--y's writ,
 I still think Horace has most wit.

—My barber tapping at my door,
 I give my books and study o'er:
 I dress, and buddle on my things,
 By then the bell for dinner rings;
 —I dine, if dinner you may call
 Our slender commons in the hall,
 Our hall, which well may represent
 A priestcraft popish sacrament,

† Sic lege meo periculo. Bentley's Horace.

In which we scholars laity are,
The fellows to the priests compare,
For while they eat, we only stare.
Such dinner o'er, --- and over soon,
I lounge away the afternoon,
The smarts at * Paris's among,
Or sipping tea with sober ---,
Who can with spark'ling wit alarm,
And give sound sense a double charm.

The divin'd'ling day to ev'ning runs,
I, to my ev'ning stage, the † Tuns;
Bottles and glass'es all plac'd by one;
--- Here's to the members of the Lion. ---
Where our wine's good, and wit is such,
'Tis sometimes little, sometimes much:
The small and the great vulgar scorning,
We pay, --- and just get home 'fore morning:
By one undress'd, to bed I creep,
And learn'dly read myself to sleep;
--- At six am call'd, --- I rise at ten, ---
Then play the same farce o'er again.

To lay my principles before ye,
I'm neither rigid Whig nor Tory;
But with a soul sincere and hearty,
Despise the canting name of party;
I'd have my thoughts from virtue spring,
True to my country and my king.

As to my tenets in religion,
Tho' I'm not bound, Sir, to confession,
I'll tell you what they are I've got,
By telling first what I have not;
I have no doubtful strange supposes
About the antient books of Moses,
Nor follow whimsies M--dd--tonian,
Nor niceties of space C--rk--sonian;
No fashionable Tindalists,
But dully dare believe in Christ;
Yet not without my reason free,
With scripture making it agree;
And may I never deviate odd,
Or from my king, or from my God;
May I --- But hark! There's some one come ---
--- 'Tis H---, and Y---, broke in my room ---
They swear that I no more shall write,
I've only time this wish to indite;
Health, wit, and soul sincere and true,
Still be your fate --- and so Adieu.

The A B C Representatives: Or, an Al-
phabetical Touch on the Times.

CH R I S T --- Pass that black mark, tho'
the first in the band,
For now-a-days Christ's Cross for nothing
must stand:

But begin with great A, you silly dull drone,
For A stands for army, which stands and
stands on:

B stands for a blunder in or out of the state,
And C stands for Counsel, which oft comes too
late;

To stand for the Devil the D makes pretension,
And the E for Excise --- the devil's invention;

F stands for a fiddlestick, --- fleet --- and a fart,
And **G** stands for going --- when'er they depart:
H stands for a Horace, for his wit, whom
we love, [above:
And **J** stands for judgment, which a wit is
K stands for a knave, and in that noble station
Has the honour to stand for best part of the
Nation:

L may stand for legal on an election list,
But **M** the majority none can resist;

Let **N** stand for nothing, which nothing shall be,
Sage grandmother Osborne, an emblem of thee;

O stands for a cypher, and as such represents
The yea and nay speakers in some p--rl---ts;

P stands for a P--lt--y, a plot and a pope
Q for a quandary, for them who're past hope,

And **R** for a Robin, a ribband, a rope:
S represents somebody, for which somebody, **T**

Is the first type of Tyburn that fam'd triple tree:
V stands for a vote, (and a moral to show)

W for some wisdom that vote to bestow;
For as **X** stands for ten, --- ten pounds let it be,

It oft buys a vote --- not as bribe, but as fee:
Y stands for the man whose sweet flowing tongue

Is as noted as any the senate among:
Z stands for --- z--ns --- a d-mn'd letter of no
worth,

And And per se and, just to end it, --- and ---
so forth.

Then on these letters let no censure fall,
They're knights of th' shires, and represent
you all.

In Praise of Mrs. Anne --- of ---
in Essex. By the Author of Kirby-Hill.
(See p. 324.)

NANCY, each youth's distinguish'd care,
Envied by every Essex fair,
Such various charms compose, wou'd move
A Scythian heart to softest love;
Her blushing cheeks with crimson dy'd
Where everlasting smiles reside;
Her dimpled chin, her sparkling eyes,
Serene and bright as summer skies:
And lips such grateful fragrance shed,
They all Ambrosia far exceed;
Each pretty snow-white rising breast,
More lovely still the nymph confess;
Innocence and truth with these combine,
Justly to render her divine;
Virtue that men to heav'n endears,
In native lustre here appears:
What charms her latent features boast,
Are to my muse entirely lost;
But doubtless nature boon display'd
The utmost art to form this maid,
And to surpass Europa's grove,
When she enamour'd mighty Jove;
Or gods in synod jointly met,
This great Pandora to compleat,
Such airs and lineaments design'd,
To bless and curse at once mankind:

Methinks the pleasing thoughts excite
The greatest pleasure and delight;
That recollect each ev'ning song
Which broke sweet accents from her tongue;
When I by her side admiring sat,
And now and then with gentle pat,
Reprov'd her modest embryo love,
Witness'd alone by th' nodding grove;
Whilst she return'd a smiling look,
And brilliant eyes her passion spoke.

Sure *Nancy's* dread attractive pow'r,
Were *Paris* now, he would adore;
And darling *Helen* thence disdain,
For *Nancy's* less destructive reign.
This is my wish, this my request,
With such a damsel to be blest:
Wou'd heav'n comply, I'd strait dismiss,
All hopes of other earthly bliss:
Well-pleas'd my beauteous she I'd prize,
And even regal pomp despise.

E. C.

The VIII. Ode of Anacreon. Upon his Dream.

ON purple tapestry, brisk and gay
With wine, at night I sleeping lay.
Midst virgins, sporting on the plain
A swift long course I seem'd to strain.
Some boys more swift than *Bacchus* near,
Envy my pastime with the fair,
In laughter loud, and bitter jest,
The malice of their hearts express.
The girls I strove to kiss, but they,
With sleep, fled from me all away.
Thus left alone, and sad, I fain
Would close my eyes to sleep again.

The two following stand not amiss together.

HYMN to HEALTH.

Health, thou parent of untainted joys,
Whose favour never surfeits, never cloy,
Without whose aid all blessings are but vain:
For who can taste unless devoid of pain?
Possess of thee, the beggar dwells at ease;
If absent thou, O what can give us peace?
Solace of life! bright nymph by all ador'd!
Say how thou'rt gain'd, or how thou art restor'd.

When thro' the bones the *rheumatism* flies,
And the poor wretch in racking torment lies;
When hands, or feet, or stomach, are oppress'd
With gouty pains, fell enemies to rest;
When thro' each limb, each muscle, and each vein,

The *scurvy* boasts its soul tyrannick reign;
Say by what art, what *Esculapian* hand,
Canst thou be reinstated in command.
Great queen of bliss! thy vot'ries suit attend;
And to his earnest pray'r with ear propitious bend.

See! from yon purple cloud the chariot broke;
Hither with vig'rous step and ruddy look

The goddess moves — and now the silence breaks: [speaks.

Be all things hush'd, while *Health* her answer
' If me with such a passion you desire,
' Few words will tell you all that you require:
' Be temp'rate, and thro' life be sure of me,
' From *rheumatisms*, *gouts*, and *scurvy* free.
' Thro' folly if I'm lost — to *Ward* apply;
' His drop shall make those stubborn evils fly.
' Thus I, propitious, have, as you implor'd,
' Taught how I may be held, and how restor'd.

GUTTULA WARDIANA; or
W—d's Drops.

Egregious *Ward*, you boast with success sure,
That your one drop can all distempers cure:
When it in S—n cures ambition's pain,
Or ends the megrims of Sir *Janus*' brain,
Of wounded conscience when it heals the smart,
And on reflection glads the statesman's heart;
When it to women palls old M—ar—'s gust,
And cools 'fore death the fever of his lust;
When F—d it can give of wit a taste,
Make *Harriot* pious, or *Corinna* chaste;
Make scribbling B—dg—t deviate into sense,
Or give to *Pope* more wit and excellence;
Then will I think that your one drop will save,
Ten thousand dying patients from the grave.

The IXth Ode of Anacreon. Upon a Dove.

THIS rapid flight through realms above,
Whence, whence tak'st thou, O lovely dove?

Whence so much fragrance from thy bill
Do'st breathe, or from thy wings distil;
Perfuming all the air around?
And pr'y-thee whither art thou bound?

To *Venus* once I did belong,
Who sold me for a pretty song:
And now my office is in brief,
Anacreon's messenger in chief.

Here from my neck, expos'd to view,
Depend thou lest his billet doux.

He said, when I set out, that he,
At my return would set me free:
But should he then dismiss me strait,
Yet I will still upon him wait.

For what wou'd it avail that I
O'er mountains and o'er fields shou'd flie;

And, on thick trees sublimely plac'd,
Take daily some poor wild repast?

Since now, by fond *Anacreon* fed,
From his own hand I peck the bread;

And of that wine delicious sip,
Which just before had wet his lip.

My thirst then quench'd, my wings I spread,
And cover all my master's head:

And, when soft sleep my eyes has clos'd,
Upon his lyre I perch repos'd.

I've told thee all — be gone — I vow,
Thou'st made me prattle like a chough.

D d d 2

The



The GENTLEMAN's Monthly Intelligencer.

JULY, 1734.



THE Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America having deputed James Oglethorpe, John Larocbe and Richard Chandler, Esqs; and Mr. Harman Verelst, to wait on, and bring up from Gravesend in a Barge, Tomo Chachi, an Indian Chief, with Senauchi his Wife, and Tooanakowi his Nephew, Hillispilli a War Captain, and Apakowiski, Stimaleechi, Sintouchi, Stingawykki, and Umpychi, five other Indians, who came over with James Oglethorpe, Esq; in the *Aldborough* Man of War, they arrived on June 28, at the said Trustees Office in Westminster.

TUESDAY, July 2.

Her Royal Highness the Princess of Orange embark'd at *Helvoetsluys* on Saturday Night last, about Ten o'Clock, on board the *Fubbs* Yacht; and at Ten on Monday Morning, the Wind being strong at West, and the said Yacht opposite to the *Kentish* Shore, her Royal Highness order'd the Captain to make the first Place where she could land, which he did accordingly, and her Royal Highness came on Shore at a little Village called *Broad-Steps*, near the *North-Fordland*, from whence she soon after proceeded for the Court at *Kensington*. Her Royal Highness cross'd the Ferry at *Westminster* about Three this Morning, in good Health, but greatly fatigued; about Eight she waited on their Majesties, and was received with an inexpressible Satisfaction.

George Martin, Esq; and William Pate, Esq; who were elected last *Midsummer-Day* Sheriffs of this City and County of *Middlesex*, for the Year ensuing, were discharged from the said Office, by swearing they were not worth 10,000*l.* at the Time of their Election.

One Pollard, a Frenchman, the Captain's Swabber of the *Ipswich* Man of War, was hanged at the Yard-Arm, in the Presence of the whole Ship's Crew, pursuant to his Sentence at a general Court Martial, for the

Murder of his own Son, a Youth of about 15 Years of Age, on board the said Ship.

WEDNESDAY, 3.

It was notified at Court, that her Royal Highness the Princess of Orange was with Child.

TUESDAY, 9.

The five following Malefactors were executed at *Tyburn*, viz. William Ray, for the Murder of his Wife; Roger Bro, for the Murder of the Butcher's Boy in *Hungerford-Market*; Thomas Taverner, for a Robbery on the Highway; Peter Mashee, for a Street-Robbery; and Richard Stewens, alias Evans, for stealing Goods to the Value of 10*l.* William Ray broke his Halter just as the Cart drew from them, and by the Fall broke his Head; but was immediately tied up again, and suffered with the others. (See p. 218, 326.)

WEDNESDAY, 10.

Came on a Tryal in the Court of *Common-Pleas* at *Westminster*, between Mr. James Feroaise, Plaintiff, and Mr. Alexander Blackwell, Defendant; the Cause of Action was, that the Defendant exercised the Art and Mystery of a Printer, not having served a regular Apprenticeship to the Trade: The Action was brought upon the Statute of 5 *Eliz.* and after being learnedly argued by Counsel on both Sides, the Jury gave a Verdict for the Plaintiff, and 40*s.* Damage, for exercising the said Trade for the Space of one Month.

A general Court of the *Charitable Corporation* was held, for taking the Ballot upon the following Question, viz.

'That this Court highly approve the filing of the Bill against the late Committee-Men and Assistants, and others whose Names have been now read, and of the other Steps taken by the Court of Committee, for the Recovery of the Money and Effects due to this Corporation: When there appeared for the Question 394, and 77 against it.

FRIDAY,

FRIDAY, 12.

The Sessions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when the six following Malefactors received Sentence of Death, *viz.* *Nicholas Baldwin*, for robbing his Masters Mess. *Chase* and Company, to the Value of 40*l.* *Joseph Remington*, for the Murder of *William Wells* with a Dung-Fork, at his House the *Windmill* at *Whetston*; and *Mary Haycock*, *Anne Knight*, *Elizabeth Tracy*, and *Katbarine Tracy*, alias *Bogie*, two Sisters, all four for Coining. The two first received Sentence to be hanged, and the four Women to be drawn on Hurdles to *Tyburn*, and there burnt to Ashes at Stakes. Three were burnt in the Hand, five ordered to be whipt, and 24 to be transported.

An Express arriv'd at Court, which brought an Account of the safe Arrival of his Highness the Prince of *Orange* at Prince *Eugene's* Camp on the *Rhine*. His Retinue consisted of 40 Persons, and his Horses for Use and State were 96. His Highness a few Days before his Departure from the *Hague*, notify'd his Intention to their High-Mightinesses the States-General in a Letter to this Effect, That he had taken the Resolution of repairing forthwith as a Volunteer to the Emperor's Army, in order to take a Lesson under that consummate General *P. Eugene*, whose great Abilities were well known to their High-Mightinesses, and whose important Services to the Republick had justly endear'd him to it, that he might form himself after the Example of so great a Master, and at length become useful to his Country, as his Ancestors had always been, &c. Whereupon the States-General sent his Highness their Compliments, wishing him a good Journey and safe Return.

His Majesty ordered the Parliament, which stood prorogued to the 16th Inst. to be farther prorogued to Aug. 13.

TUESDAY, 23.

This Morning, about Two o'Clock, a Fire broke out at Mr. *Tebbs's*, a Grocer's, near the Ship Tavern at *Temple-Bar*, which burnt with such Fury, that in four Hours Time the said House, with Mr. *Bird's* a Fishmonger, Mr. *Brown's* the Horse-shoe Alehouse, Mr. *Weldon's* an Oilman, Mr. *Dobbs's* a Poulterer, Mr. *Duncomb's* a Distiller, Mr. *Fraiser's* a Grocer, Mr. *Bullin's* an Oilman, and the Ship Alehouse in *Ship-Yard*, were burnt down; besides very much damaging the Ship Tavern, Mr. *Atkinson's* an Oilman, Mr. *Jennings's* a Druggist, the back Part of *John's* Coffee-house in *Beer-Lane*, and several other Houses.

Was held a General Court of the *South-Sea* Company, when the Court declared a Dividend of One and a Half per Cent. on the Trading Stock of the said Company, for the half Year ending at *Midsummer* last.

WEDNESDAY, 24.

The Coroner's Jury sat again at the *Rummer Tavern* in *Albemarle-street*, and finish'd

their Enquiry concerning the Death of the late Mr. *Cantillon*, and brought in their Verdict, That he was suppos'd to have been murder'd (by some of his Servants) and the two Men and the Maid-Servant that have been confin'd ever since the Fire, are ordered to be try'd, on Suspicion of the said Murder, at the next Sessions at the *Old Bailey*. (see p. 265.)

THURSDAY, 25.

The Number of Gentlemen who had been nominated by the several Lord Mayors, as proper Persons to serve the Office of Sheriffs, was on *Midsummer-Day* last no less than 50, four of whom have been since elected and sworn off, and 35 have paid their Fines of 400*l.* each, one is abroad, and another not free of the City, two were elected this Day, and seven remain on the List, *viz.* *Asgil Eyons*, Painter-Stainer, *Robert Atwood*, Draper, *Thomas Ward*, Stationer, *William Powell*, Cutler, *Setb Gibson*, Mercer, *Thomas Royle*, Stationer, and *Percival Lewis*, Draper.

Complaints having been made to the King, that several of the Turnpikes in the Counties of *Gloucester* and *Hereford* have been pull'd down, and the rest threaten'd; and that the Keepers of the Turnpikes, and even the Commissioners themselves, had been menac'd with having their Houses pull'd over their Heads, if they attempted to set up new Turnpikes in their stead; his Majesty has been pleas'd to issue a Proclamation for apprehending the Persons concern'd therein, and to promise a Reward of 50*l.* for every one that shall be convicted accordingly.

It having been also represented to his Majesty, that *Jeremiab Brusford*, of *Taunton St. James* in the County of *Somerset*, receiv'd on the 14th of *March* last, a Letter signed *Thomas Resolved*, *John Resolved*, and *George Resolved*, threatening to burn his Corn and Hay, and to knock out his Brains, if he went to *Maiden-Brook*, an Estate he had lately taken: And on the 16th of the said Month he receiv'd another Letter to the same Effect; as also one on the 27th, threatening to treat him in the Manner above-mention'd, unless he put 20 Guineas in the Place describ'd in the said Letter: And farther, that on Sunday the 17th of the said Month, the said *Jeremiab Brusford* was assaulted near his Dwelling-House by a Person unknown, who gave him a violent Blow on the Arm; and on the Wednesday following was again attack'd by three Persons disguis'd, who knock'd him down, and robb'd him of 5 Guineas and 14 Shillings; and was also assaulted on the 8th of *April* last by three Persons in Women's Apparel, but suppos'd to be Men, with their Faces black'd, who beat him till they thought he was dead, then robb'd him of 15 Guineas and two Shillings; since which, the said *Jeremiab Brusford* has had a Stack of Hay set on Fire and an Ox wounded: His Majesty, for the better dis-

discovering and bringing to Justice the Persons concern'd in such heinous Crimes, is pleas'd to promise his most gracious Pardon to any one of them, who shall discover his Accomplice or Accomplices, so as he or they may be apprehended and convicted thereof. And as a further Encouragement to any Person who shall make such Discovery, the said *Jeremiah Bruford* has offered a Reward of 20 Guineas.

FRIDAY, 26.

Baron *Stark*, Envoy Extraordinary from the Duke of *Holslein-Gottorp* to this Court, arriv'd here.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

Burrington *Goldsworthy*, Esq; Nephew to Sir *Charles Wager*, married to Miss *Vanbrugh*, Daughter of Capt. *Vanbrugh*, Commander of a Man of War.

George Watson, Esq; a Relation to the Earl of *Rockingham*, to Mrs. *Smallwood*, Relict of the late — *Smallwood*, of *Dover street*, Esq;

Mr. *Wright* of *Clifford's-Inn*, to Miss *Price*, Daughter of *John Price*, Esq;

Anthony Kemp, Esq; a Gentleman of a large Estate in *Suffex*, to Miss *Stourton*, Niece to the Lord *Stourton*.

Lord *Edward Herbert*, second Son to the Marquis of *Powis*, to the Lady *Henrietta Walgrave*, only Daughter to the Earl *Walgrave*.

His Grace the Duke of *Portland*, to the Lady *Margaret Harley*, only Daughter of the Earl of *Oxford*.

Richard Holford of *Averbury* in the County of *Wilts*, Esq; Grandson to Sir *Richard Holford*, Knt. late one of the Masters in Chancery, to Miss *Lynn*, Daughter of *Samuel Lynn* of *Tidmarsh* in the County of *Berks*, Esq;

John Brown, Esq; Son of Counsellor *Brown*, of *Tooke's-Court*, Chancery-Lane, to Miss *Elson*, Grand-Daughter of Sir *John Sheffield* of *Portsmouth*, a 15,000*l.* Fortune.

Sir *Francis Skipwith*, of *Newbold-Hall* in *Warwickshire*, Bart. to Miss *Cartwright*, Daughter of *T. Cartwright*, of *Aynbo*, Esq; one of the Knights of the Shire for the County of *Northampton*.

John Bays, of *Market-Harborough* in *Leicestershire*, Esq; to Mrs. *Watts*, Widow of the late Mr. *Watts*, an eminent Merchant of this City.

The Lady of *William Archer*, Esq; Knight of the Shire for the County of *Berks*, was delivered of a Son.

The Right Hon. the Countess of *Pembroke*, of a Son and Heir.

The Lady of Sir *John Frederick*, Bart. of a Son.

The Lady of the Right Hon. the Lord *Baltimore*, Gov. of *Maryland*, of a Daughter.

John Fiquier, Esq; married to Miss *Holt*, a Fortune of 5000*l.*

— *Williamson*, Esq; of *Surrey*, to Miss *Betty Jenkins*.

DEATHS.

THE Lady of the Lord *James Cavendish*, Uncle to the present Duke of *Devonshire*: She was one of the Daughters and Coheirs to *Elibu Yale*, Esq; some Time Governor of *Fort St. George* in the *East-Indies*.

At *Edinburgh* the Hon. *Harry Maule*, Esq; commonly called Earl of *Panmure*; but his eldest Brother being unhappily concern'd in the late Rebellion at *Preston*, the Titles and Estate of that antient Family were forfeited.

At *Wandsworth* in *Surrey*, *John Sbrimpton*, Esq; a Gentleman of a good Fortune: He was Commander of a Man of War in 1718, in that memorable Expedition to *Sicily* against the *Spaniards*.

At *Coventry* the Rev. Dr. *Kimberley*, Canon of *Litchfield*, Vicar of *Trinity Parish* in *Coventry*, and Rector of *Bagginton* in *Warwickshire*.

At *Staines* in *Middlesex*, Mr. *Wheatley*, formerly an eminent Throwster in *Spittlefields*, who lately gave 600*l.* towards a Set of Bells to be put up in the Steeple of *Christ-Church, Spittlefields*.

At Sir *William Courteney's*, *John Stafford*, of *Upton Pine* in *Devon*, Esq; a Gentleman possess'd of near 800*l.* per Ann.

At *Horn-Castle* in *Lincolnshire*, *George Heron*, Esq;

The only surviving Son of the late Major *Hanbury*.

The Lord *William Hamilton*, Brother to his Grace the Duke of *Hamilton and Brandon*, who was chosen Member of the present Parliament for the Shire of *Lanerk* in *Scotland*.

At her Seat at *Redbrook* in the County of *Gloucester*, Mrs. *Coster*, Mother to *Thomas Coster*, Esq; one of the Representatives in Parliament for *Bristol*.

At his Seat at *Northbrook* in *Oxfordshire*, Sir *Robert Dashwood*, Bart.

At his House at *London-Wall*, Counsellor *Disston*.

Edward Mansell, Esq; an eminent Counsellor at Law belonging to the *Inner-Temple*.

At his Seat at *Stagenhoe* in *Hertfordshire*, *Robert Heysham*, Esq; only Son of *Robert Heysham*, Esq; formerly one of the Representatives in Parliament for this City: He being a Batchelor has left his whole Estate (except 5000*l.* to Mrs. *Robinson*) to his first Cousins, *Giles* and *Robert Thornton*, Brothers.

About Eight at Night, on the 22d, of a Paralytick Disorder, (having been taken Speechless suddenly about Noon that Day) at *Ockham* in *Surrey*, the Right Hon. *Peter Lord King*, late Lord High Chancellor: He was created Lord *King* and Baron of *Ockham* May 27, 1735, 11 Geo. I. In 1708 he was chole Recorder

Recorder of the City of London, and in 1710 was one of the Managers against Dr. Sacheverell: On the 26th of Oct. 1714, he was appointed Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, in which Station he continued till the 1st of June 1725, when he was made Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain; which Post he resign'd in November last. His Lordship's Father was a Grocer and Oilman at Exeter, and bred his Son for some Years to his own Business; many People in Devonshire are still living who have seen the late Lord Chancellor with his Coat stripped up above his Elbows, and stirring a Barrel of Oil; yet in the midst of this Employment, so strong was his Ambition and his Inclination to Learning, that he layed out what Money he could conveniently spare in Books, and employed every Moment of his leisure Time in Study; so that he became a good Scholar (and was particularly very well versed in Church History) before the World suspected any such Thing: He was Four or Five and Twenty before he was taken Notice of; when the great Mr. Lock, who was related to him, introduc'd him to the World, and persuaded his Father to let him study the Law. In which Profession, his Learning and indefatigable Diligence made him soon taken Notice of.

Mr. Serjeant Grove, an eminent Counselor and excellent Pleader.

Capt. Aubery, Commander of his Majesty's Ship the *Berwick*.

At his Seat at *Marle* in North Wales, Sir Griffith Williams, Bart.

John Cole, Esq; one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for *Middlesex*, at his House in *James street, Westminster*.

At *Chebbunt* in *Hertfordshire*, John Delby, Esq;

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

MR. George Stubbs made Chaplain to the Prince.

Mr. Joseph Hall, made Vicar of *Welham, Leicestershire*.

Mr. John Harris, Rector of *Beyton, Suffolk*.

Mr. Thomas Clendon, Vicar of *Sberry, near Canterbury*.

Mr. George Holiswell, Rector of *Somerby, Lincolnshire*, presented to a Living in *Essex*.

Mr. Smith of *Trinity College, Cambridge*, made Rector of *Bourn Wallis, Yorkshire*.

Mr. Isaac Wilson, Vicar of *Campden, Cumberland*.

Mr. Joseph Speed, Rector of *Tbornbury, Wilts*.

Mr. Thomas Cobb presented to the Living of *Fairfield, Kent*.

Mr. Thomas Rawlins to the Rectory of *Carlton, Yorkshire*.

Dr. Wintle appointed by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Warden of *Merton College, Oxon*, in the room of Dr. Holland.

John Macklen, M. A. to the Vicarage of *Holy Trinity* in the City of *Coventry* and Diocese of *Litchfield and Coventry*.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

MR. Hyde chosen one of the Bridgmasters of this City in the room of Mr. Webb, deceased.

His Grace Charles Duke of *Richmond* made Master of the Horse to his Majesty, in the room of the Earl of *Scarborough*, who resigned some Time ago.

Sir James Chamberlain, Knt. succeeds the Duke of *Richmond* as Captain of a Troop in his Majesty's Royal Regiment of Horse Guards Blue, commanded by the Duke of *Argyll*.

Col. Hawley, Col. of the Royal Reg. of Horse on the *Irish* Establishment, kissed his Majesty's Hand, for the Command of the Reg. of Dragoons, late Lieutenant General Evans's.

Right Hon. Horatio Walpole, Esq; appointed Ambassador extraordinary to the *States General*.

Jonathan Blenman, Esq; Attorney General of *Barbadoes*, made sole Judge of the Admiralty there.

Charles Vauxar of *Wisbech*, Esq; made Receiver-General of the County of *Cambridge*, and Isle of *Ely*.

Lieut. James Draper of the independent Company of Foot in *Jamaica*, made Capt. of the same in the room of the late Gen. Hunter.

James Burrington, Esq; made Capt. in Col. Paget's Reg. of Foot.

Earl of *Leven* made one of the ordinary Lords of Session in *Scotland*, instead of the late Lord *Grange*.

Hon. John Sackville, Esq; made Deputy Lieutenant of *Deal-Castle*, in the room of Geo. Furness, Esq; who has resigned.

Ensign Warren made a Capt. in Col. Handasyde's Reg. in the room of the late Capt. Boyle.

Persons declared BANKRUPTS.

WILL. Lediard, late of *Paynswicke*, in *Gloucestershire*, Clothier. Alexander Holmes, late of *Kensington*, Victualler. Bryan Weldon, of *Thames-street, London*, Oil-Cooper and Chapman. Nathaniel Burton, of *Osney-street*, in *Shropshire*, Chapman. Joseph Wals, late of *Bermondsey-street, Southwark*, Chapman. Francis Sharpe, late of *Stamford*, in *Lincolnshire*, Grocer. Robert Nay, of the Parish of *St. George Bloomsbury*, in *Middlesex*, Victualler and Chapman. Rich. Baylis, late of *Bath*, Hosier, Hatter, and Chapman. John Hill, of *Fishlake*, in *Yorkshire*, Chapman. Rich. Southall, of *Stafford*, Stationer and Bookseller. Will. Hutchinson, of *Wall-Close-Square, Middlesex*, Mariner and Merchant. Peter Best, late of *Dorchester*, in *Dorsetshire*, Grocer. John Tayler, late of *Bursledon*, in *Hants*, Shipwright. Tho. Whitehouse, late of *Guornall* in *Staffordshire*, Scythsmith. David Proffer, late of *Kington* in *Herefordshire*, Mercer.

Prices

Towards the End of the Month.

STOCKS.

<i>S. Sea</i> 79 $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Afric.</i> 20
— <i>Bonds</i> 45s Prem.	<i>Royal Aff.</i> 95
— <i>Annu.</i> 104 $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Lon. ditto</i> 12
<i>Bank</i> 136 $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>T. Build.</i> 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
— <i>Circ.</i> 7 15	<i>3 p. C. An.</i> 93 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Mil. Bank</i> 107 $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Eng Copper</i> 1l. 15s.
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<i>Rotter.</i> 35 10	<i>Genoa</i> 52 $\frac{1}{4}$
<i>Hamb.</i> 35 10 a 9	<i>Venice</i> 48 $\frac{3}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
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<i>Bourdauf</i> 31	<i>Oport.</i> 5 5
<i>Cadiz</i> 40 $\frac{1}{4}$ a $\frac{3}{8}$	<i>Antw.</i> 36 a 35 11
<i>Madrid</i> 40 $\frac{1}{4}$	<i>Dublin</i> 10 $\frac{1}{2}$

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<i>Wheat</i> 26 30	<i>Oates</i> 11 13
<i>Rye</i> 15 17	<i>Tares</i> 18 23
<i>Barley</i> 14 17	<i>Pease</i> 20 22
<i>H. Beans</i> 16 20	<i>H. Pease</i> 16 19
<i>P. Malt</i> 17 20	<i>B. Malt</i> 16 19

Prices of Goods, &c. in London. Hay 36s. to 42s. a Load.

<i>Coals per Chaldron</i> 23 a 24	<i>Sugar Powder best</i> 54 a 59s.	<i>Manna</i> 2s. 6d. a 4s.
<i>New Hops per Hun.</i> 5l. a 6l. 10	<i>Ditto second Sort</i> 46s. a 50	<i>Mastick white</i> 4s. od.
<i>Old Hops</i> 3l. 10s. a 4l.	<i>Loaf Sugar double ref.</i> 8d. half a 9d.	<i>Opium</i> 9s.
<i>Rape Seed</i> 10 a 11	<i>Ditto single refine</i> 56s. a 64s.	<i>Quicksilver</i> 4s. 3d.
<i>Lead the Fodder</i> 19 Hun. 1 half		<i>Rhubarb</i> 18 a 25s.
on board, 14 a 14l. 10s.	<i>Grocery Wares by the lb.</i>	<i>Sarsaparilla</i> 3s. od.
<i>Tin in Blocks</i> 3l. 10	<i>Cinamon</i> 7s. 8d.	<i>Saffron English</i> 22s. 6d.
<i>Ditto in Bars</i> 4l.	<i>Clowes</i> 9s. 1d.	<i>Wormseeds</i> none
<i>Copper Eng. best</i> 5l. 5s.	<i>Mace</i> 15s. od.	<i>Balsam Copaiwa</i> 3s. od.
<i>Ditto ordinary</i> 4l. 16s. a 5l.	<i>Nutmegs</i> 8s. 7d.	<i>Balsam of Gilead</i> 20s.
<i>Ditto Barbary</i> 8s. a 9s.	<i>Sugar Candy white</i> 14 a 18d.	<i>Hypocacuanæ</i> 4s. 6d. a 5
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<i>Country Tallow</i> 30s.	<i>Tea Bobea fine</i> 10s. a 12s.	<i>Ditto white none</i>
<i>Cochineal</i> 18s. 3	<i>Ditto ordinary</i> 8a 9s.	<i>Lisbon red</i> 35 a 40l.
	<i>Ditto Congo</i> 10 a 12s.	<i>Ditto white</i> 26 a 28l.
<i>Grocery Wares by the C.</i>	<i>Ditto Pekoe</i> 14a 16s.	<i>Sberry</i> 26l.
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Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from June 25 to July 23.

Christned	{ Males 663 }	1294
	{ Females 631 }	
Buried	{ Males 971 }	1856
	{ Females 885 }	

Died under 2 Years old	789
Between 2 and 5	254
5 10	96
10 20	68
20 30	129
30 40	145
40 50	159
50 60	98
60 70	62
70 80	32
80 90	23
90 and upwards	1

1856

THIS

THIS Month began with an Account of a very extraordinary Battle in *Italy*, which happen'd on *June 29*. Of which we had first this general Account. On *June 29*, happened a very bloody Battle between the *Germans* and *Confederates*, within a Mile of *Parma*. Both Sides own the Loss of killed and dangerously wounded to amount to 7000 each, at least; and few Officers, even the general ones, escaped Wounds. They fought 7 Hours together, and after so terrible a Slaughter, neither Side pretends to sing *Te Deum*. The Horse of neither Side were engaged, because of the Closeness of the Country.

The following is a more particular Account, in a Letter from the Camp near *Parma*, dated *June 30*. There was Yesterday one of the most bloody Battles of Infantry that has ever been known, near the City of *Parma*. The Enemy attack'd us at the *Cassines* of *Bronzel*, a Quarter of a League from *Parma*, and after an obstinate Fight, which lasted ten Hours successively, a Thing without Example, the Enemy at last retired in the Night, marching towards the Mountain. They have lost upwards of 3000 Men, and many general Officers; among them General *Merci* killed, Prince of *Wirtemberg* wounded, Count *Palsi* wounded, *Vinck* kill'd, *Diebach* mortally wounded, *Schulenburg* killed, Major General *Watchtendonck* wounded, *De la Tour* wounded, *Palsi* the Son killed, and most of the other Generals are much wounded. Our Loss is reckoned near 400 Officers, and many Soldiers; the general Officers are the Marshal *de Coigny* wounded in the Thigh, the Duke *de Crussol* killed, *Marquis de Lisle* killed, *Valence* killed, *d'Offort* wounded in the Hand, and thirty Officers of his Regiment killed, *Firmacon* wounded in the Shoulder, *Cadrieux* had his Shoulder broke, *Savin* wounded, *Rami* killed, Prince of *Montauban* wounded, *Guercebois* wounded, *Contade* the Son wounded, Count *de Biron* wounded, *Lavigne* much bruised, *Marquis de Maison* killed, *Maillebois* the Son wounded, *La Tremouille* trodden under Foot by Horses, and two of his Ribs broke, *Courville* wounded, *Pilliers* had a considerable Contusion, *Narcere* was wounded by a Musquet Shot, *Crozonsac* killed, *Lacedrean* had three Fingers shot off; besides many others killed and wounded, and the three Brigades of *Picardy*, *Champaigny*, and the King, suffered extremely; but our Army kept the Field of Battle.

The *Marquis de Coigny*, Son to the Marshal of that Name, arriv'd afterwards at *Verfailles* with the following Account, That on the 29th of *June*, N. S. early in the Morning, the *Imperial Army* in *Italy* drew up in *Battalia* and march'd directly towards *Parma*, and that *Monf. Coigny*, who commanded the Army of the Allies in the Absence of the King of *Sardinia*, seeing the *Imperialists* in full March, retired from before *Parma*,

where he was posted, and seem'd by his various Motions to avoid coming to a Battle, till the Van of the *Imperial Army* was advanced to the very Walls of *Parma*, which exposing the *Germans* to a very great Disadvantage, *Monf. de Coigny* attacked them. The Action began by two Battalions of a Side cannonading each other across a small Rivulet near the *Lenza*, which in about two Hours became general, and lasted about 11 Hours, when 9000 *Germans* were kill'd, and 5000 *French*, amongst the latter 600 Officers; Count *Merci*, General *Watchtendonck*, and Count *Palsi*, were kill'd on the Side of the *Imperialists*; and *Monf. Coigny*, the *French* General, dangerously wounded. The *Imperialists* retreated in the utmost Confusion, leaving their Artillery, Ammunition, and Baggage. The Rear of the *French* during the Night fired on their own Army by Mistake, which was answered with several Volleys, and continued about two Hours in the Dark, by which Means they kill'd a great many of their own People.

These were the *French* Accounts: We shall conclude this Article with the following Account from *Mantua*, dated *July 10*, viz. On *June 27*. Count *Merci* pass'd the *Parma* with his Army: The same Day he received Advice, that the Marshal *de Coigny* had likewise ordered his Army to march. The 29th, Count *Merci* advanc'd towards the Village of *Croceta*: He found that the Enemy had already begun to entrench themselves under the Walls of *Parma*, and that they had possessed themselves of two *Cassines*: That General, at the Head of five Companies of Grenadiers, supported by five or six Battalions, attacked the Enemy, about Eleven o'Clock, with so much Vigour, that he took one of the *Cassines* and six Pieces of Cannon, which he immediately turned upon the *French*; but he being unfortunately killed soon after with a Cannon-Ball, and our Troops not being timely supported, the Enemy obliged them to abandon the *Cassine*: The Fight continued nevertheless with a great deal of Vigour till Night, without any considerable Advantage on either Side. The Prince of *Wirtemberg*, who took upon him the Command of the Army as soon as he had heard Count *Merci* was killed, behaved very gallantly: He received two Wounds, and had several Horses shot under him: There was only the right Wing of our Army engaged, that is to say, 18 Battalions, with a Regiment of Horse and another of Dragoons; the left Wing not having fired a Shot. We had about 6000 killed and wounded: The Loss of the *French* and *Piedmontese* was little less.

From the Camp before *Dantzick*, *July 7*. The Capitulation for *Dantzick* was signed this Day. The City gives a Million of Crowns towards the Expence of the War, and a

Million more to the *Russians* in particular. The Gate of *Oliva* is guarded by 200 *Saxons*. The Primate is sent to *Elbing*, where a Guard is placed on him; a Guard is also set on the Marqu's *Monti*.

From *Berlin*, July 10. We have received Advice, that King *Stanislaus* being retired from *Dantzick* in the Night between the 28th and 29th past, disguised in the Habit of a Peasant, had passed the Inundation in a Bark, and after having wandered and marched six Leagues on Foot, he arrived safe the 3d Instant, in a Chariot at *Maricwarden*, where, making himself known to a *Prussian* Officer, he was furnished with what he had Need of.

From *Paris*, July 24. On the 17th, the Governor of *Philipsbourg* made a Proposal to the Marshal *d'Asfeldt* by an Officer, that he would permit that Officer to go and consult Prince *Eugene* what the said Governor should do. The Marshal *d'Asfeldt* did not accept of that Proposal, but sent the Governor Word, that if he did not surrender, but gave Time for the Batteries to be planted upon the Crown-Work, he should have no Capitulation, but be exposed to the Courage of the Grenadiers, who earnestly desired there might be no Capitulation. The Governor, upon this Answer, demanded to capitulate. The 18th, Hostages were exchanged, and the Articles having been signed about Six o'Clock that Evening, the Regiment of *French* Guards took Possession of one of the Gates of the Town.

From the *Rhine*. That the *Imperial* Army had carry'd on their Approaches so near to the *French* Lines, that a private Soldier of the *Hanover* Troops had been killed by a Musquet Shot from the *French* Camp; and that a *German* Officer's Horse, that was leading by a Groom within 30 Paces of Prince *Eugene*'s Person, had been shot by a Cannon-Ball.

From the *Hague*, July 27. *Philipsbourg* is at last surrendered, having held out 7 Weeks after the Opening of the Trenches. It is true, the *Rhine* fought for the *Germans*; but the *Germans* acted their Parts too, and did not leave the *Rhine* to do all. General *Witgenau*, the Governor, for his Share, has gained a Name, which will be transmitted down to Posterity in the Records of the Empire: Prince *Eugene* and all the Generals of the *Imperial* Army have given him great Commendation, and he well deserved it, his very Enemies having judged so rightly of his Worth, as to reward his Merit. The Marshal *d'Asfeldt* was pleased to give him triumphant Proofs of the Esteem he had of his Capacity, having granted him every Thing he desired, and made him a Present, besides, of the finest Piece of Cannon, at his own Choice, that was in *Philipsbourg*.

From the *Imperial* Camp at *Bruchsal*, July 24. On the 21st in the Morning the *Imperial* Garrison march'd out of *Philipsbourg*. A strong Report prevails amongst us, that the *French* have made several Detachments, and design some important Enterprize. This Day the King of *Prussia* gave a magnificent Entertainment to the Prince Royal his Son, the Duke of *Beveren*, Prince *Charles* of *Beveren*, and several other Persons of Distinction. On the 22d, the *Imperial* Army came to encamp here, where we hold our head Quarters. During our March being apprehensive of the *French* attacking our Rear-Guard, on Account of their Proximity, all possible Precautions were taken to cover it from Insults; for this Purpose all the Companies of Foot and Horse Grenadiers, our Carabineers with 8 Battalions, 30 Squadrons, and 4 Regiments of *Hussars*, were posted in the Rear, together with the Troops which had been posted in the three Redoubts we raised before the Enemy's Entrenchments. Count *Seckendorf* was appointed to command them, with the Prince *Maximilian* of *Hesse*, and Count *de Furstenbourg*, Lieutenant Generals of Foot, the Prince of *Hobenzollern*, Lieutenant General of Horse, four Foot and two Horse Major-Generals: We marched in 8 Columns, and happily without the least Disturbance from the Enemy. The same Day our Army was reinforced with 3 Battalions of the Regiment of Prince *Lewis* of *Wurtemberg*; and Prince *Augustus William* of *Beveren* arriv'd in our Camp. On the 23d, some Parties of the Enemy appearing in our former Camp of *Wiesenthal*, the *Hussars* belonging to our left Wing attacked one of them; but following them too warmly, fell into an Ambuscade, from whence, however, they got off pretty luckily. The *Hussars* of the right Wing came off much better, they routed another Party, kill'd 30 of them, and took 19 Prisoners. This Day some Deserters report, that the same Day our Army left the Camp of *Wiesenthal*, the Enemy caused 40 Companies of Grenadiers, with all the Piquets of the Army, to leave their Entrenchments, in order to observe our March, but at Night they return'd to their Lines.

Advices from the *Rhine* agree, that the *Imperial* Army consists of 68,000 effective Men, and the *French* Army of about 126,000 Men; but that the latter's Cavalry is but indifferently mounted.

There are at present Thirty-seven *German* Princes in the *Imperial* Army under Prince *Eugene*.

On the 27th N. S. the Queen of *France* was deliver'd of a Princess.

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